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Toward Friendship With China

Outline *for*
Discussion Course
on China



THE FEDERATION OF WOMAN'S BOARDS OF FOREIGN
MISSIONS OF NORTH AMERICA

TOWARD FRIENDSHIP WITH CHINA




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INTRODUCTION

WITH China so much in the public eye today, with the position of our missionaries, the future of our missionary work and our foreign policy in China so much in question, it has seemed wise to the Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America to publish a syllabus, containing fact material and questions drawn from it, to be used as a basis for a discussion course. China is a nation and deserves the respect of all nations of the world. It is necessary for the Church in America to arrive at a better understanding of the present situation in China and to know its underlying causes. It must be realized that a new day has come and that the new day demands a new attitude towards China. There needs to be revision of attitudes as well as revision of treaties, and both revisions demand haste. This new attitude should be one of respect based on knowledge and the Church should lead in bringing about this change.

The measure of success and growth of missions through the years of missionary effort; the present attitude of distrust in some quarters because of what is considered the westernizing and denationalizing influence of an Occidental religion; extraliquity, with its concessions to foreigners, and the toleration clauses in treaties giving special privileges and protection to missionaries; the development of the national Church in China and the rapidly developing spirit of nationalism, the growing complexity of the industrial situation, together with other conditions, have developed a situation that calls us to face many new questions in missionary administration and policies. We of the west must also scan our prejudices, attitudes of superiority and discriminating policies toward China and the Chinese.

We believe there is a large future ahead for missionary

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activity in China, and in this new day we need a new demonstration of the quality of Christianity in China and in America as well. "It is not so much to do something for China as to be something in China to reveal Jesus Christ."

We must continually keep in mind that the urge for autonomy and liberty in China today is the logical result of the Christian emphasis on the equality of value of individuals and races before God. We shall need to concede autonomy for the Church in China first; then Chinese and Western Christian forces will be able to coöperate on a basis of equality.

As the syllabus is to be used as a basis for discussion, it must be borne in mind that the quoted selections have been chosen not because of their value per se, but rather because they indicate the different opinions and points of view which are held in regard to the situation in China today. Only by presenting differing and even opposed points of view can all sides of a question be viewed and fair and unbiased judgments reached.

Very sincere thanks are due to the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. for granting large blocks of the time of Miss Mildred Hand, and to The Inquiry for that of Mr. S. M. Keeny for the major preparation of this syllabus. Appreciation should also be expressed for the valuable assistance given by Miss Margaret Burton and Miss Agatha Harrison of the Y.W.C.A.; also by selected representatives of five of our affiliated Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions for reading and criticizing the manuscript.

The final publication of the syllabus is due to the co-operation of The Central Committee for the United Study of Foreign Missions constituting the Publication Committee of the Federation.

KATHERINE V. SILVERTHORN,
President.

TO THE LEADER

1. In this series of discussions the members of your group are undertaking an experiment in coöperative thinking. They are not accepting without question any one person's interpretation of what is going on in China; nor are they looking for ready-made solutions to the problems raised. Instead they are trying to find out what their own responsibilities are in the present situation, and how they can best act where they find action needed.

2. The best sources of information about China are those people who know China. Make every effort to include in your group, therefore, at least one Chinese who is qualified to interpret not only the current international relations of his country, but also its culture. In addition, try to find spokesmen for as many other interests as possible: a missionary, a teacher, a business man, etc. It is best if you can have these people take part in all the discussions; if this is impossible, invite them for the session in which they are likely to be most helpful. But have them come with the understanding that you expect, not a speech, but aid in thinking through problems that arise in discussion.

3. In the appendix is included a variety of quotations, selected with a view to providing useful information not otherwise readily acces-

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sible. It is assumed that most of the groups will have available for reference, "The Present Situation in China and Its Significance for Christian Missions."* Encourage members also to make the largest possible use of the numerous articles in current periodicals. (See Bibliography.)

4. The same facts often lead different people to quite different conclusions. The purpose of the first hour is, therefore, to start the group considering not only the objective facts about China which have come to their attention, but also the assumptions: e.g., about our race, religion and western civilization, which they bring to a consideration of the facts. This preparatory examination of attitudes promotes real discussion by getting everyone to take part from the beginning and by taking into account the values of personal experience and original thought as well as data gathered from books.

5. This entire pamphlet is planned to carry the group through a normal educative process. A well known educator, Professor Kilpatrick of Columbia, points out that in learning anything new we go through the following stages:

- a. Linking it with our own experience;
- b. Facing it as a problem;
- c. Relating it to wider facts and interests;
- d. Acting with satisfaction upon it.

The special interests of your group will suggest modifications in the plan of discussion; but these

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variations should take place within the framework of the four stages just mentioned. It is essential that the discussion should march toward effective action on the part of the group. (See list of suggestions in Discussion IV.)

6. For those who are leading a discussion group for the first time, the following suggestions may be useful: *

a. At the beginning of the first session have the group elect a secretary to keep a record for future reference. From time to time you may also wish to call upon the secretary or another person in the group to help summarize the discussion. An occasional call of this kind serves to remind the group that you are merely acting as their representative.

b. When you are examining situations deeply charged with feeling, carry on the discussion in the third person. Ask "What has happened to you?" If, in spite of your precautions, members fall into contentious arguments, ask "Why do some people think . . . ?" and introduce an opinion on the other side. In doing this be sure to make it clear that the opinion introduced is not your own.

c. As you listen, keep mental notes of the discussion in terms of difference in *fact* and in *philosophy*; and of possible grounds for agreement. The moment you begin to hear the same ideas repeated, begin your summary. Once the main issue seems clear, ask "Is the question we are facing this . . . ?" Remember that the summary may recognize *agreement* or *difference*.

d. Remember that one very important part of your task is to get every member in the group to take part. If you speak after every other person, you retard discussion. Above all never argue with a speaker about a statement you do not like. Your task is to listen, and to summarize what you have heard, inviting the group to modify your summary.

*A useful pamphlet for leaders is *Creative Discussion*, published by The Inquiry (Womans Press, 1926. Price 30 cents.)

DISCUSSION I

“**I**N attempting to interpret the relationship of America to the present situation in China as seen by one who has quite recently come from there, the first and indeed the one all-important fact to which I would call attention is that the present real government of China is public opinion.”

With this statement President Stuart of Yen-ching University, Peking, opened the Conference on American Relations with China at Baltimore last September. It was generally agreed by the Chinese and Americans at the Conference, and by those who commented on the speech in the press that this remark went to the heart of the whole question. But public opinion is a vague term even when we are talking about questions much nearer home than China. And most of us probably feel that on the other side of the Pacific people somehow or other think and act differently from us. Part of our task in these four discussions is to find out as far as we can if that assumption is true.

Let us take one sample of Chinese opinion today, mentioned by Prof. J. S. Burgess, of Princeton-in-Peking:*

**Survey Graphic*, October, 1925.

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"A group of Chinese were giving a send-off luncheon for one of their number who was going abroad. Included in the group were two ex-vice ministers of education, the financial wizard of China, the chief secretary to the president of the Bank of China, some teachers and a dean of a theological seminary. . . . The Shanghai shooting* had taken place only ten days previously. Was the main trend of the remarks centered upon the terrible cruelty of the police or the unjust treaties and how they had been forced upon China? By no means, but stories of this kind were told with indignation: A highly educated Chinese young woman was returning from her studies in England. She found upon applying for reservations to the steamship company that it was impossible for her to secure passage unless she bought two tickets and reserved an entire state room. When asked a reason for this, the reply was that it would be impossible for the company to sell the other berth in the cabin to any white person."

How representative of Chinese public opinion do you consider the group that sat about that luncheon table?

How far would they be inclined to overestimate the importance of an unpleasant incident which occurred to another educated Chinese?

After examining the incident, how important do you consider the personal element in our relations with China?

It is suggested that the discussion for the rest of the hour follow up this question of personal relationships through an examination of the following:

A. Our attitudes toward the Chinese.

*See Discussion II; Chronology, under May 30, page 20.

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- B. The attitudes of the Chinese to us.
- C. How new situations arise from the interplay of A and B.

From this beginning we shall proceed in later chapters to consider more fully some of the friction-points resulting from conflicting attitudes, some of the ways in which we Americans are involved, and some of the things which urgently need to be done to build better attitudes and in which this group can take active part.

A. OUR ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CHINESE

- i. What have the group been reading or hearing about China recently?*

Questions should be asked here both as to *what* has been heard and *through what specific channels*. For example,

- a. Newspapers and magazines: (by name, including indications as to whether the information appeared as Associated Press news, editorials, feature articles, interviews, etc.)

- b. People: business friends, doctors, educators, missionaries in China or returned from China, Chinese students or business men in this country. (Note whether information has come through speeches, conversations, the radio, letters, etc.)

As the members speak to the main question, the leader should make brief notes on a black-board, somewhat as follows:

*See Note 4 to leader, page 8.

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<i>Topics</i>	<i>Source of Information</i>
Demonstrations in Shanghai	Associated Press reports in
Resolutions passed by Chinese Christians in Swatow	New York Times
Business Difficulties caused by unrest in Shanghai	The Baptist
	Letters from business man in Canton

2. What experiences have they had which are likely to color their opinions in questions where the Chinese are involved?*

It is recommended that the leader use here either device a or b, described below:

a. Write on the blackboard the word "Chinese". Ask for a show of hands of those for whom the word brings up a definite picture. Let the members in turn describe what those pictures are, and compare the various sources from which they came, and the extent to which they persist in returning when the word is mentioned.

One college girl described her "picture" as follows:

"When I think of the Chinese and China, I have not an unpleasant feeling. They interest, and in a small way excite me, due mostly to a childhood experience I had.

"In our meager library at home we had a large over-size volume dealing with China which appealed to me because of its fine illustrations. Sometimes I would read parts of it, but it was the pictures that impressed me mostly. There were pictures of the people, their odd, queer homes, scenes of the country, and a picture of the Great Wall. I think all my ideas of China were formed from this book until I studied

*See Note 4 to leader, page 8.

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China and the Chinese in school, and then my old images and ideas of China persisted most strongly. I liked these people and their strange land."

b. Ask each member to write down the four or five phrases which come to mind, one after another, when the word "Chinese" is mentioned.

Example:

Chinese: A Chinese student from Canton with whom I recently talked; a beautiful Mandarin coat I once saw that had been bought in Canton; it must have taken months of work for some one to make; a picture of a crowded Chinese street; where do they all find enough to eat?

Have the phrases read aloud to show something of the range of interest in China possessed by the group.

3. How do these attitudes find expression in American daily life? (The group may wish to add to the following examples.)*

No. 1

Difficulty in Getting Acquainted. "I often hear American students saying that the Chinese students do not talk with them. My own experience has been that in 75 per cent of the cases the American boys do not take the initiative in getting acquainted. I usually try to do my share; but I can't get rid of the feeling that they ought to make the first move. When they do not, I feel shy. The result is that many of us live together for months without saying more than a few words to each other."

No. 2

In the Class Room. "I find it increasingly hard to recite well even on the topics on which I am thoroughly

*See also Appendix VII, C, page 103.

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prepared. My instructors, with the very best of intentions, tend to assume that because I am Chinese I can not do better than answer a question with 'yes' or 'no'. After I go through this experience for a while, I begin to think they're right."

No. 3

On the Job. "During the summer vacation I was foreman of a gang of men engaged in qualitative analysis of the end products of lead purification. One day during the lunch hour one of the workmen called out to me: 'Hey, there, why don't you get back to your wash tubs?' The next day this man was assigned to my gang. I tried in every way to be polite to him, and always said 'please' when I asked him to do anything. He never looked at me the whole day. The next day he quit."

(Examples 1-3 supplied by a Chinese post-graduate student at Columbia.)

B. THE CHINESE POINT OF VIEW

If the group are fortunate enough to have a Chinese member, they may be able to find out how far the first impulsive reactions of Chinese to Americans compare with the reactions already mentioned. If the group cannot readily provide its own comparisons, the following may possibly be pertinent:

No. 1

Dress. "When Richard changed from American to Chinese costume, and appeared on the street in it, he overheard one Chinese say to another, 'Ah! he looks like a man now.'"

No. 2

Color. "A teacher in a mission school was quizzing a Chinese boy on races of the earth:

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' . . . and what color is an Englishman?'

'White, sir.'

' . . . and a Chinese?'

'Man color, sir.' "

No. 3

Suspicion of strange groups. "In the early days of Missions in China it was alleged that the Christians secretly dropped 'Genii Powders' into the wells. The effect of drinking the water into which these powders had been thrown was death in about a month. The form of this report was most insidious, and for weeks the people were kept in the wildest excitement.

" . . . In more recent times a Mrs. Fan in the Woman's Opium Refuge at Chaocheng, China, when under kind treatment asked quite ingenuously if those rumors were true which credited weird criminal acts to the foreigners."

No. 4

Dislike of foreigners who don't "belong". "An old Chinese woman, who had been dressmaker to three generations of missionaries, confided to a friend that there seemed little inducement to repent and be saved, if going to heaven would entail associating with foreigners for all eternity."

(Examples above quoted by MAURICE T. PRICE, *Christian Missions and Oriental Civilizations*.)

Because of the tenseness of present relationships, it will be worth while to examine in more detail some of the forms in which Chinese public opinion is expressing itself now. The quotations in the Appendix (VII A, B, C) will supplement information supplied by the members from other sources.

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C. THE INTERPLAY OF CHINESE AND AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

In addition to the familiar channels of the newspaper, the interpretation of America and China to each other takes place through a variety of contacts. For example:

"One of the missionary institutions issued a catalogue some years ago which has since been on file in the Ministry of Education. The catalogue in one of its articles on the aim of the said institution included the following sentences: 'The Government of China is hopelessly weak and corrupt, the people of China are pitifully poor and ignorant. This is because there are very few men or women sufficiently capable and conscientious to effect constructive reforms.' That catalogue was passed around at almost every meeting held by the Ministry when considering the question of Christian school recognition. It was used as an example of reflection upon the dignity of the country, and as a misrepresentation of the true facts. At least, they claim that it is no longer true from the point of view of educators even if the lack of modern education in years past were admitted. That catalogue with the aim of Christian institutions so unskillfully put was used every time as an argument against mission schools."

DEAN TIMOTHY LEW, Yenching University, Peking.

The examples quoted in the Appendix (VIII F, G, H, I, J) may be used to supplement those supplied by the group. Throughout this part of the discussion reference will be made from time to time to the channels of opinion listed under A, 1 (p. 12) at the beginning of this hour.

The following questions may help to summarize this survey of the methods by which inter-

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national public opinion is made and transferred:

1. In what ways do the 9,000 Americans in China tend to be more conspicuous than the 50,000 Chinese in America? *

2. What is the difference in kinds of employment engaged in by Americans in China and by Chinese in America? How do these differences affect public opinion? For example, how would our attitude toward the Chinese in America be different if half of them were missionaries for the Buddhist religion?

3. What difference do you note between the feeling of your acquaintances about admitting Chinese to this country and admitting the Japanese? To what extent do you think recent ill-feeling toward the Japanese tends to be transferred to the Chinese? What is the reason for your answer?

4. How would you compare the influence as makers of public opinion in their own country of the 1,500 Chinese students now in this country and of the 4,500 American missionaries in China?

5. What do you think is the effect on mutual understanding between the American and Chinese people of the present cable rates (about \$1.00 a word as compared with 20 cents to London)?

6. How much contact has your group with the Chinese in your state? In your city? What opportunities have you near home for learning more about the Chinese, between now and the end of these sessions?

*See Appendix VII, B, page 102.

DISCUSSION II

IN Discussion I we tried to study from as many sides as possible, the attitudes of mind in which Americans and Chinese approach new problems in relationships. Members who have been reading of recent happenings are probably more interested in the actual points of friction. We shall now consider therefore these attitudes in action.

As a point of departure for the discussion, the group should consider the Shanghai incident of May 30, which is generally taken to be a milestone in the course of Chinese-foreign relations.*

CHRONOLOGY OF RECENT EVENTS IN CHINA

FEBRUARY 9, 1925 — SHANGHAI

First of series of strikes among Chinese employees in Japanese-owned cotton mills breaks out at the plant of the Naigai Wata Company. 30,000 affected, severe rioting.

FEBRUARY 26

Compromise agreement reached through intervention of Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Better treatment promised. No raise granted.

MARCH 1-20

Attempts to organize all mill-workers in Japanese and other foreign-owned mills into strong union, students assisting.

APRIL 19-MAY 9 — TSINGTAU

Strike involving 10,000 operatives in Japanese cotton mills results in severe rioting, followed by declaration of martial law. Students assist strikers, who return to plants following compromise agreement May 9.

*See Appendix VIII, A, page 104, and F, page 107; IV, F, G, page 80.

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MAY 7-24 — SHANGHAI

Two short strikes in plants of Naigai Wata Company on May 7, and May 15, workers protesting arming of Japanese guards and demanding recognition of collective bargaining. On May 22, following a lockout, Chinese worker shot and killed by Japanese guard. Six students arrested by foreign police at memorial meeting for killed worker, May 24.

MAY 28 — TSINGTAU

Two Japanese gunboats sent to Tsingtau following severe riots in Japanese mills.

MAY 30 — SHANGHAI

Six students arrested May 24 brought before Japanese assessor in Mixed Court. Students, protesting arrests and killing of Chinese worker, parade streets of Foreign Settlement. Foreign police, in attempt to disperse mobs, open fire on students at entrance to Louza Police Station. Four students killed outright, several others die of wounds and many injured.

JUNE 1 — SHANGHAI

Municipal Council (Foreign Settlement) declares martial law. General strike commences with Chinese workers quitting foreign-owned plants and factories. Severe rioting in main streets of foreign settlement, three Chinese killed and seventeen injured when police open fire on mobs.

JUNE 2 — SHANGHAI

Two Chinese killed and many wounded in encounters with police. General strike spreads. Business at standstill.

JUNE 9 — SHANGHAI

Delegation appointed by Diplomatic Body in Peking arrives from Peking to investigate strike and negotiate settlement.

JUNE 11-17

In Shanghai students connected with May 30 affair released (June 11) following Mixed Court trial. Chinese Chamber of Commerce (June 12) presents thirteen demands, including revision of Mixed Court and Shanghai Municipal Council, to Bureau of Foreign Affairs for transmission to Consular Body. Strike spreads, with approximately 300,000 workers out. British subject named Mackenzie killed by Chinese, June 16.

JUNE 18

Diplomatic Body leaves Shanghai following failure of negotiations with Chinese. No report published, delegates declaring that Chinese demands went beyond scope of their instructions.

JUNE 24 — PEKING

Chinese foreign office transmits 13 demands to Diplomatic Body, and forwards note asking revision of unequal treaties.

JULY 18

Peking Diplomatic Corps decides to hold judicial inquiry into Shanghai affair.

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JULY 20-30

Attitude of Powers in connection with recent events in China subject of discussion in London, Washington, Tokyo, etc. Diplomatic Body in Peking awaits instructions.

AUGUST 5 — WASHINGTON

United States notified of French Government's ratification of the two Nine Power Treaties on China, signed at Washington Conference in 1922. Treaties take effect as of this date.

AUGUST 18

Peking Government issues invitation to interested Powers to attend Chinese Customs Conference (as provided in Washington Conference Nine Power Treaty) commencing October 26.

AUGUST 20

Strike settlement in Japanese owned cotton mills at Shanghai. Workers return to plants.

—*Bulletin of Foreign Policy Association, New York.*

On September 15 the foreign governments agreed to ask the American, British, and Japanese governments to appoint members of a second commission of inquiry. The Chinese government was invited to appoint a member of this commission, but disapproved of an inquiry begun four months after the incident and declined to meet with the commission. The inquiry however was held.

On December 23 Shanghai Municipal Council announced its measures, that is, to accept the resignation of the two police officials involved and to offer money compensation to the families of the students who were killed. The Chinese subsequently refused to accept the money indemnity offered by the Shanghai Municipal Council.

Findings of the 2nd Judicial Inquiry published, with separate report from the American delegate.

It is suggested that the group make a brief analysis of the incident, and add to the following partial list of points of friction revealed:

1. The treatment of Chinese workers in foreign-owned factories in Chinese territory under foreign jurisdiction.
2. The slowness of representatives of foreign governments to investigate the incident of May 30, and to place responsibility for it.
3. The delay of foreign Powers in calling the con-

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ferences arranged for in 1922 for the purpose of considering China's demand that she be allowed to manage her own customs and to abolish extra-territoriality.

4. Shanghai incident and its aftermath taken as an illustration of the willingness of foreign Powers to maintain unequal treaties by force, if necessary.

5. The failure of white races to treat Chinese as social equals.

6. Action of certain countries in demanding special privileges for their citizens in China while themselves discriminating against Chinese immigrants.

7. Missionaries charged with being patriots before being Christians.

The Foreign Policy Association of New York has compiled a list of 52 articles about China which appeared in American periodicals, practically all of them between June and September. Some periodicals, namely *The World Tomorrow* (January 1926) and the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (November 1925) have given whole issues to a consideration of the Chinese situation.

How have you felt the effect of this increased interest in your city? In your church?

What features of the Chinese situation are of particular interest to this group? Why?

In what ways are you involved in the situation, as

a. Members of a church which supports missionaries there.*

b. Members of a community where Chinese are living.†

*See Appendix III, page 63.

†See Appendix VII, page 101.

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- c. Citizens of a country that does business and maintains diplomatic relations with China.*

The outline below is offered by way of stimulating discussion on such points as affect your interest, e.g. as church members, as investors, as American citizens. (Brief notes on the black-board will be of use later in the hour.)

"You know what the situation is in the Yangtze. There are British gunboats, Japanese gunboats, and some Italian and some French gunboats there, and some of our own gunboats, built in China with shallow draft that will permit them to go above the Yangtze gorges. I think these boats draw but three or four feet of water. It is an extraordinary situation when foreign gunboats are as far up a river like the Yangtze as foreign gunboats would be up the Mississippi River system if they went to Pittsburgh and beyond. But that is the situation in China, and we Americans have, I believe I am right in saying this, as many gunboats up that river as have the Japanese or the British."—FREDERICK MOORE, at the Baltimore Conference.

If you were going to China to live, would you want an American battleship always near, to rescue you in time of trouble? What are your reasons?†

How would you feel about Chinese battleships patrolling American ports and inland waters to protect Chinese here?

If you had invested money in China, would you be willing to have your interests safeguarded by Chinese courts?‡ What are your reasons?

What are your reasons for and against the prac-

*See Appendix II; IV, pages 52, 74.

†See Appendix IV, A, B, C, pages 74-78.

‡See Appendix IV, E, page 79.

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tice of foreign governments maintaining their own courts of justice in China? How do the good and the bad effects of such a practice balance?

What would you say to the proposal that foreigners withdraw all investments in China, at a possible loss, until China asks them to return? How would this affect missions, business, educational and philanthropic institutions?

"Not less, but more foreign financial assistance and control will be necessary if China is speedily to extricate herself from the political and financial chaos in which she now finds herself. This control, however, should be international rather than national, and divorced from all political preferential rights and pretensions. It should be exercised at all times for the benefit of and not to the detriment of the Chinese people, and not in a manner subversive to Chinese sovereignty." —FREDERICK E. LEE, Ph.D., in *Annals*—November 1925.

"We should remember that our national development should not be brought about in any forced manner but it should be allowed to follow in its own way and take its own time. While we shall need and appreciate outside cooperation, we must all take care that no greenhouse process be employed which might hasten its blossoming as well as its early withering and death which would be a calamity not only to the Chinese people but also to the world at large. We therefore reiterate: give us time; our national spirit will do the work." —DAVID Z. T. YUI, in *The World Tomorrow*, January 1926.

Do you approve of the principle of a country claiming the right to complete control of her postal system, customs administration, administration of justice, etc? If you have any reservations, state them.

How far are you willing to see the principle just

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examined applied in our dealings with China? Suppose such a policy meant sacrifice of security for western investments; for foreigners in China?

By the terms of agreement signed at the Customs Conference in Peking, October 1925, the foreign Powers agree to grant China customs autonomy, to take effect in 1929, on condition that China has by that time abolished the internal tax between provinces (likin).

“. . . a much wider subject is involved — namely, the status of the most-favored nation clause in the treaties, the cornerstone of all the treaties with China. That, like the tariff restrictions, is doomed to extinction in its present form, and its passing must pave the way for the creation of a new body of relations with China which this conference has now inaugurated.”—*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, January 8, 1926.

What effect is this readjustment of customs duty likely to have on our trade with China? On our political relations with her?

“In the eyes of the Chinese, Christian institutions are a part of the western system in China. In thinking this, the Chinese are justified. The special status which has been acquired by Christian missions, their workers, their property, and even their converts, is an integral part of the whole network of unequal treaties wrested from China as the price of military defeat in the period that opened with the opium war and extended to the readjustments following the Boxer uprising.”*—“Set Christianity Free in China,” *Christian Century*, October 8, 1925.

“We ask you to come and participate in a task that is larger than strengthening a denomination or building a church or even saving many souls. It is the great task of uniting nations, races, and classes by the common

*See Appendix III, B, page 63; IV, B, page 74.

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spirit of Christ, upon the principle of the brotherhood of Jesus. We do not ask you to come because our people are born militarist and bad, but we ask you to come because we believe the spirit of Christ lives in our people, although sometimes it is hidden and disguised." —Quoted by D. J. FLEMING, *Wither Bound in Missions*, p. 177.

What are your reasons for and against the suggestion that American missionaries to China ought to become Chinese citizens?

What in your opinion would be accomplished if missionaries continue as American citizens but give up their rights to protection by their government (provided this could legally be accomplished)?

Should the property of Christian missions in a non-Christian country be exempt from taxes?

If you were a missionary in China at this time, what action would you wish your American friends to take to express their support of you? To reveal their sympathy with China in her present problems?

By this time there will be up for consideration a list of perhaps ten points of friction between Chinese and Americans as manifested in the Shanghai incident and its implications. The group should now take time to examine these to find the common issue underlying them, and to specify the meaning of that issue in various fields of interest.

One form in which the issues might be stated is given here as an example — the group may wish to reject, modify or accept this analysis:

The central issue: Should we base all our dealings with Chinese on the principle of equality?

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This might involve the following more specific issues:

1. Should we ask China to maintain treaties granting privileges which we should not be willing to grant another sovereign nation?*

2. Should we urge all American schools in China to conform voluntarily to the regulations imposed by the Chinese Government on its own educational institutions?†

3. Should American traders and investors in China be required to rely solely on the Chinese Government for protection of their interests?

4. Should American industry in China employ labor under working conditions below accepted minimum standards for health?‡

5. Should American missionary boards renounce all special privileges granted to missionaries?§

6. Should we change those of our practices which involve treating the Chinese as social inferiors?

*See Appendix IV, A, page 74.

†See Appendix I, page 44.

‡See Appendix II, page 52.

§See Appendix III, B, page 63.

DISCUSSION III

WE closed the last session by trying to state the central issue in the Chinese situation. We found that the main issue included a number of others, concerned with such fields as education, industry, trade, missions, diplomacy, race superiority.

It is suggested that each angle of the central issue be considered separately, with the purpose of deciding who is responsible for action in each field; and that a record be made of possible action by:

The United States Government.

Our community.

My church.

This group.

Myself.

If you are to discover how to deal, for example, on a principle of equality with the Chinese in the matter of extra-territoriality, there would naturally come up a consideration of how to undertake action with the government. These suggestions would be listed under "Government." Suggestions would also fall under "My Church," because of the special privilege clauses incorporated in the treaties.* Suggestions

*See Appendix III, B, page 63.

should be definite. For example, in No. 6 of the divisions of the central issue,* you might undertake a study of Chinese culture† as an element in the situation, and to interest your community in that field. Such a suggestion would appear under the "Group" heading.

It will perhaps be easier to discover what this action might be, if discussion follows some such course as the questions below indicate. The analysis of the issue at the close of Discussion II is used as a foundation for these questions. Adaption will be necessary according to the definition of the issue by this group.

WHAT ACTION DO THE ISSUES CALL FOR?

Government

What bearing does the Washington Treaty‡ have on the situation?

What does this treaty require of our government?

What light does the following quotation throw on the difficulties of carrying out the provisions of the treaty?

"It is not enough to call attention to the iniquitous origin of some of the unilateral treaties or the hideous wrongs, such as the opium traffic, that foreign powers have been guilty of to their everlasting shame. Embarrassing as it is to do so, attention must also be called to certain grave weaknesses of China herself at the present hour. What about military governors of provinces who force their people to grow opium poppies for the sake of revenue? What about a government

*See Discussion II, page 19.

†See Bibliography, page 111.

‡See Appendix IV, A, page 74.

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so feeble that its physical power does not extend beyond the walls of its capital city, so corrupt that its high officials retire after a few months in office with millions of dollars in loot while the government employees starve for lack of pay, the government schools close and the general machinery of administration collapses in ruin?"—DONALD M. BRODIE, address at Conference on Cause and Cure of War, Town Hall, New York, December 11, 1925.

In the light of the quotation above, consider the following questions:

If China's government were universally supported by the Chinese and backed by an army and navy of good standing, how would that fact affect her standing among the nations?

What do you think of the following quotations as one way out of the difficulty?

"May I call attention to the manner in which the extra-territorial provisions have been read into all of these treaties? The right was secured first by one nation, read into the treaty, then all of the rest followed on the basis of the most favored nation principle. The way to get rid of the extra-territorial provision in the treaties is just the way it was introduced. Let one nation lead off; let the United States take the position that these privileges should be abrogated, and then all the rest of the nations will have to follow, simply because it will put America in the position of the favored nation, and then logically and also diplomatically, we shall see the natural results follow."—DR. PAUL MONROE, at Baltimore Conference.

At the opening session of the Customs Conference, China presented as a basis for discussion certain proposals, including one for the removal

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of tariff restrictions on existing treaties. A few days later the American delegation presented proposals which were in substantial agreement with the Chinese demands. The promptness of America in taking the lead, making the effort toward a conciliation of the customs dispute was a practical application of the theory advanced by Dr. Monroe, as quoted above.

Consider the value of such a diplomatic policy if it were to be adopted as a general principle for the dealings of the United States with China.

In what ways, besides the return of the Boxer Indemnity money, has this country officially demonstrated its friendship for China? In what ways have we discriminated against her?

How far would decisive action toward arbitration on the part of one of the western powers bring about a solution of the difficulty?

Which of the western powers who are parties to the Washington Treaty could best make the initial move?

What are the most effective ways of arousing public opinion on such an action by the government?

How many of these are applicable in your community?

EDUCATION

"It may be said that the Christian culture that now approaches China is not the raw and undeveloped thing it was a thousand years ago when somewhat similarly approaching Europe. What now comes is in many respects the richest social heritage ever possessed,—richest not only in mechanical devices, in knowledge of dynamics, and in the control of physical forces, but richest also in the fine arts; and richest in the finest

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of all arts, the will to serve, the spirit of brotherhood, the sense of race unity and mutual responsibility. Much remains to be desired, very truly, but surely what has just been said is true; and the horizon is alight with increasingly better prospects."—From *The Chinese Recorder*, June, 1925.

The China Educational Association (a national association not affiliated with missions) passed several resolutions at its 1924 meeting which registered a strong opinion for national control of mission schools.* This official disapproval of the teaching of religion in schools will doubtless have a decided effect on the future of educational missions in China.

How far do you find yourself in sympathy with the *principles* back of this movement, as set forth by the Chinese?

How does this situation alter the program of missions in China?

What difference does it make in the missionary work of *your* church?

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

"China is passing through the first phases of the industrial revolution. One of her ablest representatives said at Paris during the Peace Conference that this was the most critical and anxious aspect of China's future. Could China, with great and rapid industrialization in prospect, escape the dreadful shadows through which England groped into some kind of civilized life a century ago? Industrial development in China has been disastrously quick. In the seven

*See Appendix II, page 19.

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years from 1915 the number of spindles rose from one to two millions. The conditions in these mills are very similar to the conditions in the Lancashire mills in the early days of the industrial revolution."—*The Manchester Guardian*, June 16, 1925.

What reasons can you think of for and against American business in China operating according to Chinese standards of health, age of employment, hours, etc.?

How far is this situation likely to be affected through the international spirit of labor?*

"If China is to be freed from the ills that have affected other nations passing through industrial revolutions, then educators from this country, from England, France and elsewhere, need to go to China not necessarily to educate the Chinese, particularly in certain kinds of industries, but to educate the foreigners operating in the treaty ports under ex-territorial laws."—DR. FREDERIC E. LEE, American Consul to China for Economic Investigational Work, 1922, at the Baltimore Conference.

Can you indicate from your information on labor conditions in Shanghai one or more points at which missionary effort might be of use in avoiding future international disputes?†

"There is need of an attempt on our part to interpret the present psychological situation in order that the policies of missions and boards may be so determined as to improve, and not aggravate, the difficulties therein. They should be asked to participate in the study of China's foreign relations, sending out if possible one or two persons specially qualified by their knowledge of international law, or otherwise, to aid in such en-

*See Appendix II, E, page 62.

†See Appendix II, A, B, C, pages 52, 56.

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quiry.”—Recommendation adopted at annual meeting of National Christian Council of China, 1925.

What are some of the practical ways in which your church, as quoted above, can enlist in such a plan as is quoted above?

TRADE

“One of the most serious impediments to our development as a democratic nation is the return to feudalism in the form of personal armies led by the military chieftains who regard the territory which they and their retainers have taken as personal domains in which they act as petty kings and in which they tax the people as they please with a view to increasing their own wealth. . . . This system has to be rooted out before we can set our house in order.

“. . . Just as the militarists regard the land they control as their own kingdoms, so do most officials regard the funds in their possession as their own property. . . . It is a fact that during the past ten months the Peking government has received sums ranging close on to \$80,000,000 for which there has been no accounting. The income of the Chinese government, of the provincial officials and the various tax bureaus is sufficiently large at the present time to meet all our requirements, but most of it is dissipated by those who control the funds. Most of it finds its way into private purses.” — *TONG SHAO-YI, Quoted by D. Brodie, Town Hall, New York, December 11, 1925.

“Referring to the foreign control of customs collection: During the more than sixty years of its supervision of the foreign trade of China it has in addition to the collection of duties done much to promote the welfare of the country. It has surveyed the

*Tong Shao-Yi is considered to be one of the greatest living statesmen of China.

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coasts and rivers, built lighthouses, buoyed the channels, established a postal system, protected the health of the ports and established a bureau of statistics whose records supply us with the only reliable data on many subjects related to commerce and social conditions. Its school of languages opened at Peking in 1862 and, designed to educate men for interpreters, was the nucleus from which the national university developed.”
—DR. E. T. WILLIAMS, of the American Peace Commission, Paris.

In the Appendix (No, IV, B) you will find a statement of the reasons for the treaties on extra-territoriality in China, from which it is evident that the conditions of foreign and Chinese relationships in China have materially changed since the present system was inaugurated. Under the circumstances, therefore,

What are the reasons for and against the Republic of China assuming the burden of agreements made by the Imperial government?

With the terms of the existing treaties as a basis for action,

How far is American business justified in insisting on foreign protection in a country where civil war is so ever-present?

“The Number One man of the British-American Tobacco Company* in January, 1921, said to me, ‘If the British-American Tobacco Company could go back eighteen years and start over again, we would most certainly organize a partnership with the Chinese and with Chinese laws. . . . By so doing, you will ac-

*One of the biggest foreign firms in China.

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comply more in five years than you could accomplish in any other way in ten years.'"—RICHARD C. PATTERSON, JR., at Baltimore Conference.

On the strength of the statement quoted above,

What are the advantages and disadvantages, both for good-will and for good business of such a co-operative plan?

Should the initiative for such a system come from Chinese or foreign business men?

MISSIONS

"Whatever our attitude toward war and imperialism and industry and race relations may be, it is time that we faced the facts. The facts are that our hold on the students of China is rapidly weakening so far as winning them to Christ and His cause is concerned, not because they suspect Christ, but because they suspect us. Missions are at stake in the Orient today, not because 'supporters' are falling off in their 'gifts', but because the Orient does not believe in the sincerity of our professions. They have read something of the gospel message and they fail to see the Christian nations following that message; they even fail to discover that the Christian church to any marked degree is taking Jesus in earnest.—S. RALPH HARLOW, *The Christian Century*, December 1925.

"This question (of the future of missions) can be answered by us as Christians only on the basis of essential character and quality of the Christian message. Let us freely recognize that such supporting help as may come from ecclesiastical organizations is only support and not the message itself. Let us admit that the gospel of love and truth and righteousness is God's gift to all men, not to any one race or country. The message is His message and not ours. We are simply making

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possible the wider knowledge of the Christ life to the world. The world has not accepted it as yet. Therefore we must not confuse the meager results in Western life with the true worth of the gospel itself. The problem is whether we are prepared to allow the life of Christ to be disattached from its historic 'pillars' and reared among another people freed from these incumbrances. If we cannot allow it—but insist that the vehicle is just as essential as the message it is built to safeguard and express we have answered the challenge of the Chinese at this one point at least."—From a statement issued by the Committee of Reference and Counsel, Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

"We are told of three great things that should be coördinated in dealing with China or with any country, namely, diplomatic service, business service, and missionary service. These three are tending more and more to walk in parallel lines, and the coöperation of these three divisions is absolutely necessary for good intercourse between countries. The purpose of the missionary is not the narrow one of merely carrying on religious service. I am not a missionary, but I think the point to which the missionary should pay more attention is the permeation of the diplomatic and business services with these moral principles. If we can bring diplomats and business men to recognize these ethical ideals, I think half the problems of the world will be solved."—PATRICK J. WARD, at the Baltimore Conference.

The three statements quoted above seem to indicate new lines of service for missionaries.* With these ideas as a background,

How far do you think a missionary is justified in enlarging the traditional scope of his task?

*See also Appendix III (page 63), especially J and K.

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In what directions would you like to see missionary activity expand?

How can Christian influence in China be increased at the present time?

In the light of the discussion on the preceding questions, comment on the following item from the *Chinese Recorder* (November, 1925):

WORKING OUT A NEW CHRISTIAN PROGRAM

"On Monday night, October 5, 1925, a group of about one hundred foreign residents of Peking—mainly missionary—met to discuss the topic, "What Should be the Christian Objective in the Present Situation?" Among the suggestions made were the following; from these there seemed to be little dissent. (1) That the missionaries should declare themselves as desirous of having the "toleration clauses" in the treaties removed. (2) In addition, however, to advocating that missionaries should give up their *special* privileges it was suggested that missionaries should also declare their position on other present major issues such as the tariff, extraterritoriality and China's sovereignty. (3) That the missions and mission boards take steps to return the indemnity funds received after 1900 and definitely declare their determination to make no claims for indemnities in future. (4) Endeavor to arrange some system of Chinese trusteeship for Christian property in China. (5) Make the Christian Movement in China really autonomous; eliminate effectively foreign control. (6) Make gifts direct to the Chinese church. (7) Grant China the sovereign right of the exercise of religious toleration. (8) Hereafter let no Christian missionary fly his national flag over Christian property in China. (9) Memorialize western governments to withdraw all naval and military forces. (10) In endeavoring to work out these suggestions there should be steady and close coöperation between missionaries

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and Chinese leaders. (11) On joint problems such as extralality, tariff revision, etc., steps should be taken by missionaries to confer with diplomatic and commercial leaders before making any declaration. (12) Organize a campaign of publicity to educate the people and the diplomats as to the necessity of action being taken along the lines suggested above."

In what ways would such action as you think necessary on the problems just mentioned require support from:

- a. The Chinese Government?
- b. The Chinese Christian community?
- c. The Missionaries in China?
- d. Mission Boards in this country?
- e. The supporters of missions?

DISCUSSION IV

AFTER the group has agreed on a program of action, there remains to be decided the point at which to begin and the ways and means of proceeding.

With the program clearly stated on the board before you, each item should be listed as to the kind of action required,—whether by individuals, by the group, or by coöperation with other agencies. Time should be taken to designate these agencies by name and to check those which have no local representatives. If additional information is necessary before action on any item, it should be decided whether this can be secured by specific study on the part of the group, by speakers to be obtained, or by consultation with other agencies interested in the field under discussion.

When this process has been finished, item by item, the work to be done will fall naturally under such heads as:

Individual action

Group action in the community

Coöperation with other agencies

It is suggested that members look over the list, and indicate where their greatest interest lies, or volunteer such action as they are especially fitted to do.

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Committees to carry forward a program according to this outline might be appointed from the floor, and a permanent secretary elected as a means of insuring the consummation of the program which the group has adopted.

Some of the suggestions given below may be adaptable to your program:

1. Examine books on China circulated by your public library, and recommend (and perhaps buy) additional volumes. Repeat this examination periodically to see whether those are included which present China's case.

2. Read and report to the group on one or more significant books on the life and culture in China. (See Bibliography in this pamphlet.)

3. Subscribe to periodicals for your own home, and for the public library reading room, which report accurately Chinese news and which interpret Chinese life. (See Bibliography.)

4. Find out to what extent Chinese students in your city or in your denominational colleges are given opportunities to participate in American home life. This might lead to such undertakings as:

- a. Friendly invitations to them for week-ends or holidays, where they would be received as interesting guests but not as curiosities.

- b. Helping to find rooms for them in American homes, either in your community or elsewhere through enlisting the intelligent interest of your friends.

- c. Giving them a chance to take part naturally and on equal terms in church and community activities.

5. With the help of an educated Chinese to plan and carry it out, make a survey of Chinese communities in your city to discover their opportunities and their needs along the following lines:

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- a. American schools
- b. Christian Sunday schools
- c. Use of libraries, museums, public parks, etc.
- d. Legal aid

6. Organize a Chinese Evening with the purpose of education and entertainment. (Stress similarities, not differences.) This will require the coöperation of the Chinese members of the community, and can be properly done only by the inclusion of Chinese on the committee of arrangement with a generous share of the planning left to them.

7. Arrange for addresses by competent Chinese speakers and by Americans who have lived in China and whose authority of experience and breadth of view are known.

8. Arrange for a showing in church and school of educational films on China, chosen to demonstrate not so much the achievement of western missions or science as of Chinese progress in education, Christian effort, forestry, and so forth.

9. Make a study of China's contribution to American life as shown in furniture, china, porcelain, silks, embroideries and tapestries, and relate these to the artistic and cultural side of Chinese civilization.

10. Urge upon the newspapers in your community an editorial policy of presenting facts about China and the Chinese situation in an unprejudiced manner. Comic cartoons derogatory to the Chinese are to be discouraged for the same reasons.

11. Watch the missionary education material of the church itself for any material which in content or tone might be derogatory to the Chinese people. Especially watch pictures and pageants. See that projects on behalf of individuals or institutions in China are free from the assumption of a paternalistic or superior attitude.

12. Similarly, watch the geographies and other books

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used in the local schools, plays, and pageants performed by the pupils. Take up what seem to you objectionable features with the responsible school authorities.

13. Watch for objectionable features in commercial entertainments, such as moving pictures, vaudeville, and so forth; and through conferences with the managers or letters to the local press make these commercial enterprises aware of the existence of a public opinion opposed to misrepresentation of oriental character or customs. Particularly watch for objectionable features at church bazaars and the like.

14. Watch for discrimination in licensing restaurants, and other places of business.

15. Organize a discussion group, preferably of not more than ten members, made up either of Americans and members of one other race, or else of one or two members each from several nationalities. Take up general and personal problems of such a nature that interest is real, and true understanding is naturally reached through common thought and experience.

16. Try to see foreign plays and exhibits in America in the companionship of a student of the nationality of the plays or exhibits.

APPENDIX

I

EDUCATION

A

Regulations Governing the Recognition of Educational Institutions Established by Funds Contributed from Foreigners

Promulgated by the Ministry of Education, on November 16, 1925

I. OFFICIAL PROMULGATION.

Regarding the educational institutions established by funds contributed from foreigners the Ministry has taken the position that such institutions should receive the same treatment as other private institutions established in the country. We hereby officially set forth six regulations governing the application for recognition by educational institutions established by funds contributed from foreigners. These regulations are now explicitly promulgated. From now on all the regulations which have been promulgated by this Ministry in the past regarding this matter are hereby declared void, namely: the regulations set forth in Official Notice Number Eight of the sixth year of the Republic, Official Notice Number Eleven of the ninth year of the Republic, and the regulations which were put into operation in the fourth month of the tenth year of the Republic concerning the registration of the secondary institutions of the Christian Church.

2. REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE PROCEDURE OF RECOGNITION

1. Any institution of whatever grade established by funds contributed from foreigners, if it carries on its work according to the regulations governing various grades of institutions

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as promulgated by the Ministry of Education, will be allowed to make application for recognition at the office of the proper educational authorities of the Government according to the regulations as promulgated by the Ministry of Education concerning the application for recognition on the part of all educational institutions.

2. Such an institution should prefix to its official name the term "Szu lih" (privately established).*

3. The President or Principal of such an institution should be a Chinese. If such President or Principal has hitherto been a foreigner, then it must have a Chinese Vice-President, who shall represent the institution in applying for recognition.

4. If such institution has a Board of Managers more than half of the Board must be Chinese.

5. The institution shall not have as its purpose religious proselytization.†

6. The curriculum of such an institution should conform to the standards set by the Ministry of Education. It shall not include religious courses among the required subjects.

(The regulations were issued in Chinese and there is no official English text. The translation, given above, was made by Mr. Timothy T. Lew, Dean, Dept. of Theology, Yenching University, Peking, and unofficially confirmed, together with some interpretation and comment of his own, given below.)

"I feel it is my duty to call attention to this officially promulgated notice with its regulations as published by the Ministry of Education, and to the following facts:

*Attention should be called to the difficulty of putting into English the exact content of the Chinese characters used in Regulation 5. It is probable that the word "proselytization" expresses more than the framers of the resolution intended. A more literal and probably more accurate translation would be: "The school must not consider the preaching and teaching of religion as its aim."

†It was suggested by the Councils that we had better use the term in the romanized form rather than translate it literally, because "private" or "privately established" does not exactly express the idea of the original.

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1. "In comparison with former official statements published by the Ministry of Education, this is the most explicit and comprehensive one. These regulations cover more than Christian mission schools. They apply to all the educational institutions established in China by nationals other than Chinese. These include non-Christian institutions established by foreigners, schools established by the Japanese in Manchuria, and other institutions of similar kind. From the standpoint of the Ministry the regulations govern all such cases and treat all alike.

2. "This official notice places the Christian schools in the same position as the private schools established by Chinese. We are asked to conform to no new standards other than those which have been set forth by the Ministry for any institution established by Chinese. We are placed under no more stringent regulations than any other private institutions. It is, I am convinced, the most equitable treatment we can expect to get from the Government in the near future.

3. "Regarding the presidency or principalship of the institution, I learn from reliable sources that the original proposal was 'Chinese only.' It was a thoughtful suggestion on the part of some members of the Ministry, taking into consideration the difficulties of requiring that all presidents and principals become Chinese at once, that has resulted in the present version of Article 3. The Vice-President or Vice-Principal is of course merely a measure for the transitional period, and it is limited to those institutions which have already had foreigners as presidents or principals. It implies, of course, that no new institutions should be begun with other than Chinese headship, and that ultimately all institutions should have Chinese principals or presidents.

4. "Regarding the Board of Managers, the purpose is to insure a Chinese majority which will in turn insure the Chinese quality of the institutions so as to avoid its being placed in a position which invites public criticism as foreignized and unpatriotic. To use a homely analogy, it is the fifty-one percent shareholders idea of a business corporation. The term 'more than half' does not insist upon any

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preponderant majority of Chinese, nor has it any idea of working against foreigners who are sincerely and faithfully doing their part to help China in purely educational work without ulterior motive.

5. "Article 5 is one which requires explanation. It is maintained by the Ministry, by the public in general and almost unanimously by the educational leaders in China today that the primary aim of an educational institution should be education, and education alone. There has been a serious struggle going on to free educational institutions from the influence of politics and of propaganda of any kind. There has also been a struggle ever since the establishment of the Republic to free the state from any official connection with any religion. The fight against making Confucianism the state religion and to keep it out of the constitution has been continuing even as late as this year. The educational leaders find that the only safe way to insure against any attempt to establish Confucianism together with a requirement to study the Confucian classics as a prescribed course in schools is to exclude all religion and required religious courses of any kind from educational institutions. The situation was made doubly critical by the inclusion in the Twenty-one Demands of the right on the part of Japan to promulgate Buddhism and to establish schools in China. In some of the schools established by the Japanese in Manchuria it was reported that the worship of Japanese Emperors was also introduced under disguise. Therefore, taking all factors into consideration, the natural conclusion on the part of educational leaders in the country is to insist that religion should not become the aim in establishing schools."

From a *Bulletin* of the
Foreign Missions Confer-
ence of North America.

B

Resolutions adopted at the 1924 meetings of the China Educational Association *

1. RESOLUTION VII

The Control of Education in China That Has Been Maintained by Foreigners

I. *Reasons for Action*

Many evil effects have resulted from the maintenance of education in China by foreigners. Four outstanding ones are to be noted:

1. Education is the most important function of the civil administration of a nation. Foreigners have come to China and freely established schools without having them registered or examined by the Chinese authorities. This is an interference with the educational rights of the nation.

2. Each nation has its own policy for the education of its people. The racial characteristics and national ideals of foreigners are different from those of our country. For them to control our education causes many difficulties, and it is contrary to our own education principles.

3. The education work done by foreigners in China looks like charity, but it is really in effect a form of "colonization." Students who have received education from Japanese, British, Americans, French or Germans, will learn to love those nations and so will lose the spirit of national independence. This will injure the patriotic ideals of Chinese students.

4. If we investigate the content of their work we will find that most of the foreigners who are doing educational work in China usually have as their purpose either religious propaganda, or political aggression. Education is simply a supplementary matter to them. They organize the school systems and the curricula in their own way, without any

*See page 32.

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attempt to come up to the standards that have been established by the nation.

II. *Proposals*

For these reasons the control of education by foreigners should be immediately and strictly limited, as follows:

1. All schools and other educational enterprises established by foreigners should be reported and registered with the government.

2. The registration of schools established by foreigners should depend upon the fulfillment of conditions stated in the educational laws and regulations of both the central and local governments.

3. All schools established by foreigners should be under the supervision and inspection of the local authorities.

4. Teachers who are serving in the schools established by foreigners should have the qualifications described in the educational laws of China.

5. Tuition fees charged by the schools established by foreigners should be in accordance with the regulations of the Peking Board of Education. These schools should not charge higher tuition than other private schools in the same district or province.

6. Students of schools which have not been registered with the government should not enjoy rights and privileges enjoyed by students of government schools.

7. Schools which are not qualified to register with the government should be closed after a certain period.

8. All celebrations and ceremonies in schools established by foreigners should conform to the regulations of the government.

9. Foreigners must not use their schools or other educational enterprises to propagate religion.

10. All schools and other educational enterprises conducted by foreigners should be transferred to Chinese control after a certain length of time.

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11. From the time of the announcement of these regulations foreigners should not be allowed to start any new educational enterprise.

2. RESOLUTION XXIII

No Religious Work Should Be Allowed to Be Done
in the Schools

Various subjects of study have been incorporated in the school curricula with the purpose of training the students to have strong personalities and a democratic spirit. Recently many persons have utilized their schools for religious purposes, enforcing compulsory religious teaching and worship; thus the educational aims have been lost and many social troubles have been caused. For the benefit of society and the improvement of education schools should be required to have no religious teaching of any kind.

1. Preaching, religious teaching, and worship should not be permitted in the schools.

2. The educational authorities should look after this matter; if any registered schools have religious practices, they should either lose the privileges of registration or be required to close.

3. A school should treat all teachers and students alike.

—*Religious Education*, December 1925.

C

Resolutions of the Council of Primary and Secondary Education of the China Christian Educational Association, March 30-31, 1925

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

VOTED, That with regard to the present situation facing Christian education in China, and pending a fuller study during the coming year, we recommend, (a) That no action should be taken which would involve the surrender of the rights of the Christian community with reference to the re-

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ligious education of their children. (b) That recognition should be given of the fact that the continuance of Christian education must depend ultimately not upon maintenance of the rights of extra-territoriality, but upon securing the whole-hearted support of the Christian community and of the best elements of Chinese society in general; and that Christian educators should endeavor as rapidly as possible to put Christian education upon an indigenous and permanent basis.

—From the Findings of the Council of Religious Education, China Christian Educational Association, May 11-12, 1925.

THE FIELD AND FUNCTIONS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

We believe that in a Christian school the program of religious education should furnish students with:

1. The facts of the Christian religion, in order that they may know what Christianity really is. This is the function of religious instruction and it is an integral part of general education.

2. Help to reach the finest type of character, through voluntary acceptance of Christ and His way of life.

3. Opportunities to develop, through the corporate life of the school, the spirit and habits of fellowship and service, with a view to attaining the highest type of citizenship.

See also "Mission School Registration," page 70.

—*Missions.*

II

INDUSTRY

A

Child Labor

1. "For many years there has been increasing indignation at the working of little children in the mills and factories of the foreign settlements. So greatly was the public stirred that a Child Labor Commission was appointed by the Shanghai Municipal Council in June, 1923. It is interesting to note that on this Child Labor Commission were such women as Dame Adelaide Anderson, a noted inspector of factories in Great Britain, Agatha Harrison, Mary Dingman, and Dr. Mary Stone; and it is still more significant that the business interests were represented by the leading manufacturers of Shanghai. The Commission made its report in July, 1924, and hoped to have its report accepted by the Municipal Council on April 15, 1925.

"We will get some conception of the work of little children when we see that the Commission brought in these recommendations:

1. Prohibition of employment in factories and industrial undertakings of children under ten years of age, rising to twelve within four years.

2. Prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen for a longer period than twelve hours in any twenty-four.

3. Provision for twenty-four hours' consecutive rest in at least every fourteen days for children under fourteen.

4. Prohibition of employment of children under fourteen where especially dangerous conditions exist.

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"If these regulations could bring relief, what must be the status now? Read from *Threads*, the story of the industrial work of the Young Women's Christian Association of China:

" 'At this very moment of writing, we chance to know that as but one small instance of many, in a hospital a few blocks away there is a small boy of ten, who was brought in the other morning with his lips torn to ribbons and his jaw almost fractured because after a twelve-hour night shift he had fallen against the machinery at four a. m.—and he has worked under those conditions since he was a baby of seven for ten cents gold a day.'

"Another glimpse is given by Miss Harrison, writing on *China: Industry's New Frontier* (*The Churchman*, August 29, 1925):

" 'The tragedy of it all seemed to be summed up in the answer of a little old man of five and one-half years, who when questioned, said his name was "Little Tiger" and that he was working because he "wanted to eat rice".'

"These little children are especially used in the silk mills for the washing of cocoons. Quoting Mrs. C. Beresford Fox, amongst the fourteen hundred modern factories we find spinning and weaving mills, silk mills, flour mills, electric lighting plants, oil mills, match factories, etc. Quoting from the Child Labor Commission's report, based on the testimony of witnesses who have made actual observations:

" 'The contract system of employment is common. Under this the native contractor supplies the requisite labor and is paid on production. This system is obviously open to grave abuse. The Commission heard evidence to the effect that in some instances contractors obtain young children from the country districts, paying the parents \$2.00 a month for the services of each child. By employing such children in the mills and factories

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the contractor is able to make a profit of \$4.00 a month in respect to each child. These children are frequently most miserably housed and fed. They receive no money and their conditions of life are practically those of slavery.'

"In the cotton industry forty per cent of the workers are women, forty per cent are children, and twenty per cent are men. In central and southern China most of the workers are women and girls. Working hours are ordinarily twelve, fourteen, sixteen, and sometimes twenty hours per day seven days a week. Only a few factories which are under Christian management stop work on Sundays. In the cotton mills a twelve-hour night shift is worked, and workers go alternate weeks on each shift. Wages are very low. Apprentices receive no wages, only their meals, which are very poor, and a few coppers on holidays. An interesting investigation into the rug industry which was recently made in Peking brought out the fact that of the seven thousand workers engaged in making Peking rugs, five thousand are boys. At the end of the third year they are turned out for at that time they would have to receive wages. Wages, of course, are very low. Monthly rates for women average about \$3.75 for unskilled labor in cotton and silk factories, \$6.00 for skilled labor in cotton, and \$4.50 for skilled labor in silk, while \$2.75 is paid in other industries. Remember, these are monthly rates.

"It is a well-known fact that the conditions of many of these cotton mills cause tuberculosis, but one of the most tragic instances is the work done by the little children in connection with the silk filatures. Little children stand in rows before basins of steaming hot water, stirring the cocoons with their hands, and washing them so as to enable the spinner to spin off more easily the silken threads. We need not wonder that men and women in Shanghai felt compelled to put an end to such conditions of work. As I stated earlier, the Child Labor Commission hoped to have its report accepted by the Municipal Council on April 15, 1925. Now, this Council consists of rate payers in the foreign settlements,

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but though the Chinese pay eighty per cent of the taxes, they have no vote in the Municipal Council. When April 15 arrived, the Council met without a quorum to transact business, and the meeting was adjourned to take place on June 2. Again there was no quorum present."

— "China Today," MRS. RAYMOND ROBBINS, *Life and Labor Bulletin*, November 1925.

2. "The commencement age varies with the nature of the employment, but it can be asserted that, generally speaking, the child begins to work in the mill or factory as soon as it is of any economic value to the employer. The commission has visited a number of mills and similar places of employment both during the day and at night, and has seen very many children at work who could not have been more than six years of age. The hours of work are generally twelve, with not more than one hour off for a meal. The children frequently have to stand the whole time they are at work. In many industries day and night work is the rule, there being two shifts of twelve hours each. In most instances the mill or factory stops for one shift at week-ends, and in others, in addition to this, endeavors are made by the employers, but without much success, to ensure that their work people take one day off from work every two weeks. Apart from interruptions and the customary holidays at China New Year, work is continuous. Wages are paid only for working days. In many cases the atmospheric and dust conditions are bad. The sanitary arrangements in the majority of mills and factories leave very much to be desired. The average earnings of a young child are usually not more than twenty silver cents a day."

— Report of the Child Labour Commission, Shanghai Municipal Council.

"The conditions described in the Shanghai Child Labour Report are true not only of the factories in Shanghai but of

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most of the modern factories in China. The majority of these factories are owned by the Chinese, but those which are foreign-owned while a small proportion of the total number, have great power and influence. There are outstanding cases of employers, both Chinese and foreign, who have high ideals and are putting them into practice."

— *The Manchester Guardian*,
June 16, 1925.

B

Factory Conditions

"The conditions in the Shanghai Cotton Mills are deplorable. It was for the amelioration of these conditions and the increase of wages that the workers in certain Japanese-owned mills had struck. It is certainly no European standard of humanity to pay skilled labor 30 to 60 cents a day and unskilled from 7 to 50,* fully allowing for the difference in the standard of living. More pathetic is the picture of children of both sexes, between the ages of 10 and 14, toiling for a few pennies a day—and a day in these cotton mills means either twelve or fourteen hours. Even an innocuous Anti-Child Labor Law was blocked by the Shanghai rate-payers through the lack of a quorum, the Japanese intentionally abstaining from attending the meeting. Legislation along the lines of a Workman's Compensation Act is remoter than a dream."

— *Foreign Affairs*, October
1925. "The Shanghai Affair and After," by G——

C

The Westerner in Industry

1. "China's problems would be more easily solved if she had to meet only her own Chinese factory owners and managers, and to convert them alone to humane and kindly ways.

**Christian Science Monitor*, June 9, 1925.

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The Western industrialist complicates the situation. He is not always unsocial. But he is less amenable to Chinese pressure. His nationality complicates the situation. His person and his property have the potentialities of becoming international complications. He ought to be an example in the righteousness of business. There is a real challenge to Western Christianity to bring influence to bear upon Western industry in China that will make easier the task of the young Church of China in following its program for social service. Those efforts will be far more effective when reënforced by the example of a greater Christianizing and humanizing of industry in the West. The world must be saved as a whole, not by nations or hemispheres."

— LUCIUS PORTER, *China's Challenge to Christianity*, page 68.

2. "Industrial conditions are bad enough as it is, but American business asks that all of the facts be considered, such facts as the conditions in Chinese owned factories, appreciably worse than anything in foreign controlled organizations, such facts as the determination of wage scales by the Chinese themselves on the stern economic law of supply and demand, the superiority of these wages low as they are over the pay of millions of Chinese coolies, the compulsion of labor not by the foreigners of their overseers but by the parents who are alone responsible for the presence of their children in the factories, and finally the fundamental fact that unless compelled by their parents the presence of any worker in a foreign factory means that he regards that life as preferable to what he otherwise would have."

— DONALD M. BRODIE, Town Hall, New York, Dec. 11, 1925.

3. "From reports of parliamentary debates and public discussions in the home countries which reach us here, it appears that there is much misunderstanding about industrial conditions in China. An idea is entertained in some quarters

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that foreign capitalism is 'exploiting' the Chinese, and especially Chinese labor, in a ruthless manner.

"I find very little in conditions here to justify that assumption. The facts are rather to the contrary; for foreign influence in the development of modern industrialism in China, on the whole, has improved the status and outlook of the toiling Chinese masses.

". . . As far back as anything really is known about China, the manufacturers of the country largely were on a household industry basis, and in more recent times partly on a small factory basis. Wages, when industry was on a direct wage status, were a pittance so small that today we hardly can imagine people being able to live out of them. Such matters of course were comparative. Everything was cheap. . . . The World War had the same broad effects on wages and living standards in China as in America and Europe. The proportionate rise is almost exactly parallel. Wages in China today average about double what they were in 1914; in many places they have more than doubled.

". . . Any one who has gone about China much will have observed the conditions in which household industry and small Chinese factory production have been carried on. Primitive methods, poor lighting (this is one cause for excessive eye illnesses among Chinese) and bad sanitation, children hardly more than babies set to hard tasks often in uncomfortable postures, old men and old women laboring from dawn to dark. It is a constant struggle for bare existence."

—THOMAS F. MILLARD, China
Correspondent, *New York
Times*, November 29, 1925.

4. "In the preamble to Article XIII of the Peace Treaty, there is recognition of the fact that the unequal conditions regarding labor are one of the root causes of war. You have that root cause of war in China. I am not speaking about the Chinese responsibility for it. Our Chinese friends here know the grave responsibility that lies on them, because the Chinese own the majority of the factories there. I con-

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cern myself, as a foreigner, with the responsibility of the West in this situation. It is a Western system of industry. I do not say that we were the first to take it there. I think the first modern factory was started by Chinese. But there are factories under foreign ownership in China which have the conditions that we had in England one hundred years ago. In the treaty ports, wherein foreigners have special privileges, this situation in regard to industry maintains at this moment. So, while we have been hearing about China's setting her own house in order, I suggest this as a striking example of a place where the West could set its house in order in China without very much delay.

I think we can all agree that no one's hands are clean in regard to industrial development, although some of the Powers are more to blame than others when it comes to actual factory conditions. No one's hands are clean. The industrial situation in China is a great international question, and my point is that this is a place where, by setting our own houses in order, we could help China, because we are all involved in this modern industrial question. As a practical suggestion, I would say that the observance of the minimum standards of conditions of work for men and women and children that were set down in solemn agreement in Washington in 1919 is a very good place to begin."

—AGATHA HARRISON, at the
Baltimore Conference.

D

The Church and Industry

General Recommendations made by the Committee on the Church and Economic and Industrial Problems, to the National Christian Conference, and adopted by the Conference.

I

CHURCH AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

"That, in view of the development in the near future of organized forms of industry on a large scale, employing large numbers of workers:

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"The Church by all means in its power bear witness to, and secure the recognition of, such fundamental Christian principles as:

"1. The inestimable value of every individual life; involving the duty of safeguarding the individual from conditions and hours of labor directly injurious to life, and the recognition of the right of the individual to a certain amount of leisure and to opportunities for development and self-expression.

"2. The dignity of all labor, whether skilled or unskilled, that ministers to the common good; involving the right of every worker to a fair reward for labor performed.

"3. The brotherhood of man; involving the conception of coöperation in service, and such mutual relationships in industry as exclude the selfish exploitation of labor by employers and capitalists.

"That the Church further emphasize the responsibility of every Christian to apply these principles to whatever relationships he or she may sustain as a producer, consumer, employee, employer or investor.

"In accordance with the above principles we recommend that the following standards be adopted and promoted by the Church for immediate application:

"a. No employment of children under twelve full years of age.

"b. One day's rest in seven.

"c. The safeguarding of the health of workers, e.g., limiting working hours, improvement of sanitary conditions, installation of safety devices.

II

"That in the organization created to continue and carry out the work of this National Christian Conference pro-

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vision be made for the establishment, as one of its main departments, of a Council on Economic and Industrial Problems with a permanent secretary. We recommend that this council study the problems considered in this report, collect and classify information upon them and engage in the spreading of such information as shall lead to definite measures for greater social welfare. We also recommend that, as a measure toward the control and prevention of famines, this Council on Economic and Industrial Problems coöperate in the work of the International Famine Relief Commission. We recommend that this coöperation be both in the actual carrying out of measures of relief and in the investigation and promotion of means for the prevention of famines.

III

“That the training of leaders of social work be given as strong consideration as is at present being given in the fields of medicine, education and evangelism, and to that end.

“1. That schools of social science be developed in connection with existing universities.

“2. That as fast as possible trained social workers be added to the staffs of the Christian institutions which are, or ought to be, dealing with the social problems of the people in China.”*

— The Report of Commission
II to the National Christian
Conference May 2-11, 1922.

*The National Christian Conference created a National Christian Council representative of both churches and missions, the membership of which therefore includes both Chinese and missionaries. Its staff of secretaries also numbers both Chinese and foreigners among its members. One of its most important committees is the Industrial Committee, which is carrying on a most active campaign to stimulate constructive study and thought in regard to industrial conditions.

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E

Interest of Organized Labor and Other Groups

The widespread interest of many groups in the industrial situation in China is indicated by the following brief statement of their official pronouncements:

International Labor Conference, May 1925, requests documentary inquiry into conditions of labor in China by International Labor Office.

Asiatic Labor Conference called for 1926, Shanghai.

American Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1925, believes missionary organizations should dissociate themselves from special treaty privileges in China, urges respect for the Oriental worker and reconsideration of measures discriminating against him, believes he must be assisted in efforts to raise industrial standards.

Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, 1925, urges international coöperation for economic security of all nations.

International Federation of Trade Unions, 1925, endorses solidarity of workers in various countries with the Chinese workers.

International Association for Labor Legislation desires a Chinese section established to create public consciousness of the necessity of social reforms.

Women's International League (Great Britain) expresses marked interest in the regulation of child labor, Shanghai.

British Trades Union Congress, 1925, "condemns atrocities committed by British and other employers in China."

American Federation of Labor, 1925, sent request to United States Government to relieve China from principle of extra-territoriality and foreign control of customs.

III MISSIONS

A

The Missionary Enterprise in China

"There are today in China about 8000 Protestant missionaries, of whom about 4500 are American. There are also 159 Roman Catholic missionaries from the United States at work in China. The American missionary population is about one-half of the American colony in China. . . . It has not been possible for us to estimate either the total amount of the investments that have been put into property on behalf of the American missionary interests in China or what the present appraisal values of that property may be; suffice it to say that it is many millions of dollars, the investments having been made over a period of seventy-five years or more. . . . It is estimated that from eight to ten millions of dollars are spent annually by the American missionary interests on behalf of China. . . . When we face up to the question of extra-territoriality and related issues, we are facing up to many difficult and complicated questions which vitally affect the Christian movement in China."

— DR. R. E. DIFFENDORFER,
Secretary, M. E. Mission
Board, at Baltimore Conference.

B

Special Privilege Clauses

"In the negotiation of the American treaty of 1858, an article on Christianity was inserted as a result of the persistent efforts of the interpreters, S. Wells Williams and W. A. P. Martin, both of whom were missionaries. This article reads as follows:

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“‘ARTICLE XXIX. The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, are recognized as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter, those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who according to these tenets peaceably teaches and practices the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested.’

“In the treaties that were made in 1902-3, after the Boxer Uprising, toleration clauses were included that more clearly defined and confirmed these missionary privileges and the principle of religious toleration. The most complete statement is that of the American treaty, which is as follows:

“‘ARTICLE IV. Christianity; its teachers and followers not to be discriminated against. Rights and duties of missionaries,—The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, are recognized as teaching men to do good and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets, peaceably teaches and practices the principles of Christianity shall in no case be interfered with or molested therefor. No restrictions shall be placed on Chinese joining Christian churches. Converts and non-converts, being Chinese subjects, shall alike conform to the laws of China; and shall pay due respect to those in authority, living together in peace and amity; and the fact of being converts shall not protect them from the consequences of any offence they may have committed before or may commit after their admission into the church, or exempt them from paying legal taxes levied on Chinese subjects generally, except taxes levied and contributions for the support of religious customs and practices contrary to their faith. Missionaries shall not interfere with the exercise by the native authorities of their jurisdiction over Chinese subjects; nor shall the native authorities

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make any distinction between converts or non-converts, but shall administer the laws without partiality so that both classes can live together in peace. Property; land purchased by missionary societies,—Missionary societies of the United States shall be permitted to rent and to lease in perpetuity, as the property of such societies, buildings or lands in all parts of the Empire for missionary purposes and, after the title deeds have been found in order and duly stamped by the local authorities, to erect such suitable buildings as may be required for carrying on their good work.’ ”

—DR. A. L. WARNSHUIS,
*The Status of Missionaries
in China.* (Preliminary Paper for The Baltimore Conference.)

C

Challenge to Christian Leadership

“The whole Orient is challenging the claim of Christendom to moral leadership. The Christianity of Christ the East understands and might accept, but it denies that the Christianity of Christ is the Christianity of Christendom. The major half of the earth is aroused to a new consciousness and a new sense of equality. It questions the white men’s right to lead after the old fashion, and defies his power to rule. Of all the consequences of the war, this is the most far-reaching. The white man’s guns may still cow those who have no guns to meet them, but the white man’s spiritual dominance is gone. If he regains it, he must earn it. If Christianity is to attain spiritual dominance in China, it must earn it. It cannot earn it as a part of an outworn and ethically bankrupt system of western realpolitik. It must be set free, or it must shrivel.”

—CHESTER ROWELL, at Institute of Pacific Relations, 1925.

D

The New Birth of Missionary Heroism

"CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES in China are on the verge of a new adventure of faith. For years they have lived and worked under the protection of the military forces of the West. They are about to leave this protection behind, and cast themselves wholly on the goodwill of the Chinese people. And they are facing this tremendous change in their status with a quality of heroic joy which is worthy of the finest traditions of the great cause to which they have devoted their lives.

"It is not surprising that a few missionaries are to be found who view this prospect with misgiving. Readjustment is always difficult. In China the readjustment will of necessity be far reaching, for extra-territoriality and the toleration classes have held the missionaries in a relation not to be duplicated elsewhere on earth. Under these provisions the missionaries have become responsible for vast accumulations of property, and they rightly regard this responsibility with the utmost seriousness. But in a crisis like the present, no devotion to property trusteeship should be permitted to stand in the way of the larger spiritual interests at stake.

* * * * *

"The missionaries in China, if they will but see it, have now a chance to recapture some of the lost radiance of the early Christian enterprise in that country. From the days of Xavier down to the period of the Boxer massacres there was a glamor about the men and women who went to the service of Jesus Christ in China which could not be denied. They may have made mistakes in their work; their methods and their message may have been in need of revision at certain points; but they themselves were bigger than their message; they were their essential message. Because they took their lives in their hands they became gigantic figures in a spiritual romance which compelled the attention of the world, and drew into their ranks the bravest whom the church had to give.

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"The call now before the missionaries in China is the call to real apostolic jeopardy. It is a call to cut themselves free from the gunboat regime and to accept the hazards of their gospel, entrusting their lives and property to the people to whom they offer Christ. It is a call to heroism of a sort that can be made as objective, as dramatic, as any heroism of any missionary pioneer of the past. Missionary service conducted under such conditions can be presented to the youth of the West as a form of heroism worthy of the most daring spiritual adventurer. It will attract a type of recruit who now stands aloof, uninterested in the protected and exotic profession which much of foreign mission work has become. It will challenge the attention of the world to one form of enterprise which is willing to trust itself wholly to the spiritual forces now so widely flouted.

"If the missionaries will but see it, this international demand for revision of the Chinese treaties is their highest hour of opportunity. . . . "

—From *The Christian Century*,
October 29, 1925.

E

Anti-Christian Manifesto

The following quotation from a manifesto issued by the Anti-Christian Student Federation of Peking University, June 14, 1922, is quoted by Milton Stauffer in an article, "Looking Toward a Christian China," in the *Student Volunteer Movement Bulletin*, for December, 1924.

" . . . Of all religions, Christianity, we feel, is the most detestable. One sin which Christianity is guilty of, and which particularly makes our hair rise on end, is its collusion with militarism and capitalism. The influence of Christianity is growing stronger day by day, and when this force becomes more triumphant, the methods of capitalism will be more drastic. Christianity is the public enemy of mankind, just as imperialism and capitalism are, since they have one thing in common, to exploit weak countries. Realizing that China

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has long been an object of exploitation of the capitalistic and imperialistic countries of the world, Christianity is utilizing the opportunity to extend its influence. It is the intelligence officer of the capitalists and the hireling of the imperialistic countries. If no effort is made to exterminate the evil, it is impossible to foretell its dangers in the future.

F

"Opposition to Jesus Christ is not new. He was opposed by men of His own time. His own life was taken. . . .

"Charges brought forward against the Christian religion are not new. Many of the charges today are old and an importation from the West.

"Christians need not, however, be alarmed or dismayed.

"It is purifying much of our thinking. There can be no organization in the world, not even organized Christianity, that is entirely perfect. Hence the Christian Church needed a Luther or a Wesley to effect a reformation. The present Anti-Christian Movement may be an instrument in the hand of God for the correction of his children. It is helping us to seek the true picture of Jesus Christ in place of one which may have been distorted and defaced by traditions, rituals, dogmatic statements, etc."

—*Bulletin* of the National Christian Council, December 1925.

G

Chinese Leadership in the Church

" . . . Broadly speaking, the missionary movement is inspired by the thought that the best thing the West has to offer to China is the religion of Jesus Christ, that as this possesses the hearts and lives of Chinese they will be better able to meet their own problems, personal or social, and that in the spirit of Christ unity between East and West can actually be achieved. Pushed as a mere Western propaganda, the missionary movement would be doomed to fail before the

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rising national spirit. If it meant domination by foreign missionaries or by foreign methods and ideas it would deserve to fail. But what is happening is that Chinese are coming to take the leading places in the Christian movement in China and that the foreigner is, in most cases, gladly stepping aside that this process may continue. No doubt there are cases where the rate at which the change can be made is differently estimated by the two sides, but it does not always happen that the Chinese stand for the more rapid pace. At the great National Christian Conference in May, 1922, the suggestion came from the foreigners that a council should be formed consisting entirely of Chinese who might ask missionaries to act as advisory members. It was the clear sentiment of the responsible Chinese leaders that this would be too rapid an advance which led to the formation of a council in which foreigners are full members although in a minority."

— H. T. HODGKIN, *China in the Family of Nations*, pp. 157-158.

H

The Chinese Church

"No one who attended, as I had the opportunity, the national conference of the Christian church in China, held in Shanghai three years ago, doubts that within that Chinese Church there is faith enough, patience enough, and love enough to win out. Nor can one doubt who has been in China, and seen China's needs, that Christ is still the hope of the world, the hope of China. That conference, it may be remembered, said among other things: 'We confidently hope that the time will soon come when the church of China will repay in part that which she has bountifully received from her mother churches in the West, the loving tribute of the daughter, contributions in thought, life and achievement for the enrichment of the Church catholic. We firmly believe that the teaching and life of Christ have taught us beyond any doubt the possibility and the necessity of international world brotherhood. We hereby call upon everyone

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who serves in the Christian church in China to seize every opportunity to promote international friendship, and fight together against international injustice. We, therefore, call on all our fellow Christians to take every opportunity to foster world brotherhood, and to that end to Christianize the rapidly developing national consciousness, so that we as a nation may be witness to the whole world of the wonderful gift of a peace loving nature with which God has endowed our race.'"

—S. RALPH HARLOW, in *The Christian Century*, December 17, 1925.

I

Mission School Registration

"Dr. Eric M. North has announced that advices received at the offices of the China Union Universities, New York City, from 9 of the 15 colleges supported in China by American mission boards, show normal or increased enrolments in all but three. Yenching University, Peking, has 550 students, which is its limit with the present plant. Shantung Christian University has 380 students, an increase of 90. The University of Nanking has the largest enrolment in its history. Fukien Christian University reports an enrollment slightly under that of last year. Canton Christian College has opened in a promising manner. Hangchow Christian College is filled to capacity. West China Union University has an increase over last year. St. John's University, with a decrease of 50% and Shanghai College, a Baptist school, with a loss of 25%, are the hardest hit by the recent troubles."

—*The Christian Century*, October 29, 1925.

J

"The first and pioneering stage was when there was no native church and the Missions at work had to be the only thing. . . .

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"The second and transition stage is when Missions and Churches are parallel to one another. The native Church is beginning to be self-conscious and wants to be doing things herself. . . . I believe the Mission work in China as a whole is at present in its second stage of development. . . .

"The third and final stage is when the Chinese Church will have been well established. In contrast with the first stage, the Chinese Church, instead of following, must now take the lead. And the Chinese workers, instead of considering themselves as merely helpers to the missionaries, must now possess the sense of ownership and responsibility for the whole Christian movement in China. The Missions are like a scaffolding which is necessary in the process of erecting a building but should never be allowed to become a permanent structure. It should be considered only as necessary means to an end. I do not mean that the Churches in the West and the Chinese Church should begin to sever relationship in this final stage of development. Nor do I mean to say that the missionaries should now be withdrawn from China. The essential thing is that all missionary activities on the part of the Churches in the West and their representatives, in whatever forms they may be, should be merged into and expressed through one great channel which is the Chinese Church. The success or failure of the Mission work, therefore, lies in the degree to which the Missions and missionaries believe in this ultimate aim and in the speed with which they are willing to move in realizing it."

—LEUNG SIN CHOH, General Secretary Canton Y. M. C. A., and Chairman Kwong-tung Divisional Council, Church of Christ in China: *How May the Missions and Missionaries Best Serve the Chinese Church at the Present Time?*

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K

Resolutions with Regard to Existing Treaties in China

Adopted by an unofficial meeting of eighty-six officers and members of thirty-seven Mission Boards and Societies of the United States and Canada working in China held in New York, October 2 and 3, 1925.

"This unofficial meeting, composed of officers and members of Missionary Boards and Societies of the United States and Canada that are working in China, called to consider the present conditions of missionary work in China, adopts the following resolutions:

"WHEREAS, We heartily sympathize with China in her aspirations for just, equal, and fraternal relations with other nations and in her sense of the present injustice of existing treaties, and

"WHEREAS, We believe that the developments that have taken place in China in the course of several decades necessitate the revision of the existing treaties between China and other Powers; therefore, be it

Resolved,

1. With reference to the existing treaties:

That we urge the early revision of the treaties with China in such a way as to give effective application to the following principles agreed upon in the treaty signed by nine Powers in Washington on February 6, 1922, namely:

Article I. "The Contracting Powers, other than China, agree:

- (1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China;
- (2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government.

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- (3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China;
 - (4) To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly states, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states.
2. With reference to extra-territorial jurisdiction:
 - a. That we express ourselves in favor of the abolition of extra-territoriality in China at an early date.
 - b. That we further express the opinion that the determination of that date and of the provisions that may be considered mutually desirable should be undertaken cooperatively on terms of equality by China and the other Powers.
 3. With reference to the treaty provisions according special privileges to missions and missionaries:
 - a. That when our respective governments negotiate the new treaties which are so urgently needed, we wish it to be understood that we do not desire any distinctive privileges for missions and missionaries imposed by treaty upon the Chinese Government and people.
 - b. That correlatively we consider it desirable that the Chinese Government by such legislation as may be deemed necessary define the rights and privileges of missionaries, in particular to acquire and hold property and to carry forward their work in China.
 - c. We also express our desire and judgment that the principle of religious liberty should be reciprocally recognized in all future relationships between China and other nations."

IV

EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY

A

From the Washington Treaty, 1922

"The United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal:

"Desiring to adopt a policy designed to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between China and the other Powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity:

"Have resolved to conclude a treaty for that purpose. . . ."

(See Sec. K above under Article I

— *Washington Conference on
the Limitation of Armament.*

Published by American Association for International Conciliation.

B

Extra-territoriality

"The following sixteen Powers enjoy extra-territorial rights today: Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States. The other Powers, including Germany, Austria, Russia and most of the Latin-American republics, have no extra-territorial privileges in China, although some of them have treaties with China. Before the war, Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary enjoyed extra-territorial rights.

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"The situation created by the extra-territorial provisions may be summarized briefly as follows:

1. All controversies in which no foreigners are involved are tried in Chinese courts according to Chinese law. (Cases before the mixed court in Shanghai are an exception to this general rule.)
2. Controversies between two or more nationals of the same Treaty Power are tried in the consular courts or other courts of that Power, and the law applied is that of the Power concerned. Chinese police officials may make arrests, in criminal cases, but the offenders must be turned over to their respective consuls.
3. Controversies between nationals of different Treaty Powers are determined, not by Chinese courts, but by the authorities and the laws of the States concerned according to agreements between these States.
4. Controversies between nationals of non-Treaty Powers and nationals of Treaty Powers in which the latter are defendants are determined by the authorities of the Treaty Powers. In civil or criminal suits in which the non-Treaty Power nationals are defendants, jurisdiction is in the Chinese courts. Controversies to which all the parties are non-Treaty Power nationals, or in which they appear as plaintiffs or complainants against Chinese defendants, are settled in Chinese tribunals under Chinese law.
5. Controversies between Chinese and nationals of Treaty Powers are determined by the tribunals of the defendant, and the law of his country is applied.

"The conditions which lead to establishment of extra-territoriality in China were summarized as follows by Sir Robert Hart, Inspector General of the Chinese Maritime Customs from 1863 to 1911: 'When the first treaties were made China had had no experience of international dealings

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and no acquaintance with international relations, but the foreigners' knowledge of the many differences between Chinese and foreign action in matters affecting property or person was already of a kind to make him unwilling to accept Chinese procedure: it was, therefore, wise and, at that time, right for the foreign negotiator to stipulate that questions affecting the persons or property of foreigners should be arranged by the foreign authority, and, on the other hand, the Chinese officials who consented to that arrangement without stipulating for the various limitations by which it ought to have been accompanied, can hardly be blamed for their want of political foresight, even had they been free to refuse acquiescence. . . . When China acquiesced in various treaty stipulations it never occurred to her that what she was conceding was what now goes to constitute what is now termed extra-territoriality. The stipulations gradually showed their shape, and what they concede and how such concessions operate on the country that grants them, are now increasingly understood in China.'

"H. B. Morse in *The Trade and Administration of China* says: 'The principal grounds assigned by the foreigners at Canton generally and the British in particular for opposing the course of Chinese law were these: that the provisions of Chinese law were unjust, because of the indiscrimination between intentional and unintentional killing; that the Chinese courts did not often discriminate, with respect to Europeans at any rate, between accidental and wilful homicide; that the Chinese laws as they stood then were too harsh and severe in punishments, especially for offenses against the person; that the doctrine of extensive responsibility upheld by Chinese law in criminal matters is objectionable; that there was much maladministration of justice in the Chinese courts. . . .

" 'The law of China was not the law of the West; the real point at issue, however, was not the difference in law but the uncertainty in its application—or, in plain terms, the certainty of corruption and bias in its administration.' "

— *Bulletin of Foreign Policy Association.*

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C

Treaty Provisions

Article 9 of the Treaty of June 18, 1858, with China provides:

"Whenever national vessels of the United States of America, in cruising along the coast and among the ports opened for trade for the protection of the commerce of their country or for the advancement of science, shall arrive at or near any of the ports of China, commanders of said ships and the superior local authorities of Government shall, if it be necessary, hold intercourse on terms of equality and courtesy, in token of the friendly relations of their respective nations; and the said vessels shall enjoy all suitable facilities on the part of the Chinese Government in procuring provisions or other supplies and making necessary repairs. . . ."

AMERICAN NAVAL FORCES IN CHINA, OCTOBER 23, 1925

"On October 23, 1925, the American naval forces in Chinese waters were composed of the following: one cruiser, eight gunboats, three destroyers, two mine-sweepers, one transport.

"The total number of vessels in the American Navy's Asiatic fleet is fifty-five; on July 1, forty-five of these were in Chinese waters, whereas on October 23, fifteen were in Chinese waters. . . ."

"The final protocol of September 7, 1901, is as follows:

"Article 7. The Chinese Government has agreed that the quarter occupied by the legations shall be considered as one specially reserved for their use and placed under their exclusive control, in which Chinese shall not have the right to reside and which may be made defensible.

"The limits of this quarter have been fixed as follows on the annexed plan. . . ."

"In the protocol annexed to the letter of the 16th of January, 1901, China recognizes the right of each Power to

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maintain a permanent guard in the said quarter for the defense of its legation.

"Article 9. The Chinese Government has conceded the right to the Powers in the protocol annexed to the letter of the 16th of January, 1901, to occupy certain points, to be determined by an agreement between them, for the maintenance of open communication between the capital and the sea. The points occupied by the Powers are: Huang-tsun, Lang-fang, Yang-tsun, Tientsin, Chun-liang Ch'eng, Tang-ku, Lu-tai, Tang-shan, Lan-chou, Chang-li, Ch'in-wang tao, Shan-hai-kuan.

"It is in virtue of these provisions that the Treaty Powers maintain troops in the legation quarter in Peking, and at various other points in North China."

— *Bulletin* of Foreign Policy Association.

D

U. S. Government

"In China I think it may be said that we have a liberal and forward-looking policy. The United States has always been friendly to China. John Hay was foremost in advocating the open door — in other words, equal opportunity for trade, commerce and intercourse with China as opposed to special concessions, spheres of influence and leased territories. . . . It must not be forgotten, however, that the tariff conventions and extra-territorial rights were not forced upon China for the purpose of extending foreign influence but were made by mutual agreement for the purposes of aiding commerce, protecting foreign citizens and settling long-standing, difficult questions between China and the other nations. I believe the time has passed when nations capable of maintaining self-government can be expected to permit foreign control and domination. Nevertheless one of the difficulties with which foreign countries have to deal in the case of China is the instability of its government and the constant warfare between various contending factions. China is a

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great nation; it has made wonderful progress and is now struggling to maintain a republic. In this she has the sympathy and good will of the American people and everything that we can legitimately do to aid her will be done."

—From an address delivered by Secretary of State, FRANK B. KELLOGG, before the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, Dec. 14, 1925.

E

Chinese Courts

"The judiciary has to be reorganized. Trained, experienced judges have to be appointed. As suggested, the judges have to be made absolutely independent and the body of the law must be respected by all officials of the government. In former times, when the magistrate was the judge, he was regarded as the father and the mother of the people. His court and its decisions were respected. Of course it must be admitted that some of their decisions would today appear to us to be lacking, in the qualities of mercy with which justice must be mixed, but it is ridiculous to suggest that we have no tradition of respect for the courts. During the republic, judges and judicial officials have been known to accept bribes. There is only one solution to that and it is that bribery shall be made a capital offense for both the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker until we have extirpated this cancer from our body politic.

"In re-writing our codes, in remodelling our courts, in improving our prisons, our point of view should not be to satisfy any commissions appointed under the Washington treaties, but to benefit the Chinese people. . . . What we need is a thoroughly considered plan which will give the Chinese people a judicial system and a law which shall protect them and their property. That cannot be done in a day and therefore no attempt should be made to accomplish it in

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a day. We can request the Washington conference commission to wait until we have satisfied ourselves that any criticism will be unjustified. As a matter of fact, 'no system can be suitable for the Chinese people which is not good enough for the foreigners living in China'."

—TONG SHAO-YI (Chinese statesman), *North China Herald*, October 17, 1925.

F

Resolutions, American Association in Shanghai to the Department of State—June 25, 1925

"The American Association of China urges upon the American Government energetic coöperation with the other powers and the adoption of the strictest attitude and representation to the Chinese Government to suppress the present state of lawlessness directed against foreigners, which, in our opinion, is due primarily to the long existing unsettled political condition and aggravated by Soviet propaganda, and that China will be held strictly responsible for all loss of life and property and business incident to the present situation. Absolute observance of existing treaties is essential until modified through the orderly processes provided through the Washington Conference."

G

A Defense of the Shanghai Municipal Council

"The Municipal council in Shanghai has the responsible task on its hands of governing approximately one and a half million people; and of maintaining amicable relations with the provincial authorities. I believe that no city in the world can claim a greater degree of success in its city government than Shanghai, and this is due entirely to the fair and clean handling of the interests of all concerned including those of the large Chinese population.

"These Chinese have all sought residence in the International Settlement for the reason that they could live in peace and security and could have not only the many advan-

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tages of schooling and other things connected with good government, but also could be immune from the persecution of their own provincial officials. The reputation of Shanghai as a City of Refuge has been spread by the satisfied Chinese residents, and the result is that whenever any local row breaks out between one provincial tuchun and another, large hordes of refugees crowd into Shanghai. They have been at times a great burden on the Municipal Council, as their health must be safeguarded and they must be protected.

"The Police Department of Shanghai has been developed until it is a very fine and effective organization. It has to cope with the pick of China's criminals who flock there to ply their trade. Commissioner of Police McEuan, who is at the head of the Department, is the son of an officer in the British Service. He is a highly educated gentleman and has a record of twenty-five years of honorable and efficient management of the Shanghai Police.

"In the agitation leading up to the outbreak on May 30, it must be understood that genuine students were then in the minority. It is more easy in China to pose as a student than in America. There all that is necessary for any young Chinese to do to be taken for a student is to don a long coat reaching to his heels. Those of you who have been in China know that the average coolie puts on a long coat whenever he can and takes on airs of importance with little difficulty. . . . From time to time, when real or imagined Chinese governmental disorders arose, it has been the practice of the so-called 'student agitators' to circulate their pamphlets in the Settlement, and to do their demonstrating likewise in its safe confines, instead of bravely asserting themselves on Chinese territory, within reach of the Chinese police or the military forces.

"I want to add a word or two about the head of the Shanghai Municipal Council. You will be proud to know that he is an American, Mr. Stirling Fessenden, who is filling his second term as Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Council. . . . Not one action of the Shanghai Police in this last episode or of the Volunteer forces went by without his approval. He has proved as an American to be a strong and

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capable leader of the community, and the British and all other nationals swear by him, and I believe we should assume our share of the responsibility and allow nobody to believe that this was a case where another nation did all the wrong and we were not concerned."

—J. J. KEEGAN, at Baltimore Conference.

H

Three Views on Extra-Territoriality

E. Stanley Glines:

"There is a very large and responsible group, of which I like to feel that I am a part, who feel that the chaos in China is due entirely to the Chinese—that while Bolshevism, international interferences, is operative and effective to a degree, it is a very minor thing. The chaos is due primarily to the inability of the Chinese to get together among themselves. We feel that it serves no useful purpose constantly to remind the Chinese of their ill-treatment at the hands of the foreign Powers, that a much more effective job would be done if we would help the Chinese put their own house in order.

* * * * *

"China is not able today to enjoy all the advantages offered her under the Nine-Power Treaties of Washington, because she is not able to undertake the responsibilities. That is perfectly evident. Why bring up at this time a possibility of her going beyond these treaties when we know it is impossible, and therefore not fair to the Chinese to lead them to expect it?

"I believe the present disturbance in China, sponsored by the so-called students, is an exceedingly fine thing for China. It shows an awakening to national consciousness which China has so greatly needed. When the student movement is directed to cleaning up the military tuchuns and to establishing a stable and responsible government, it will have fulfilled its promise. This will not be accomplished by attacking the foreign Powers in China, for such attack, will, to my mind,

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postpone its accomplishment. Those of us who sympathize with the attack on foreigners on the part of the student movement are enemies to responsible government in China. Of this I am satisfied.

" . . . It is no disgrace for a country to pledge its customs as security. It is done every day in New York and in London. Nor is it any disgrace for a country to place the control of the collection of the customs in foreign hands. This also is done every day, and does not seem so dreadful when looked at solely as a matter of lending and borrowing. It is simple, and nothing about which any of us should get over-heated. We do these things every day in our ordinary transactions in life.

"Some of you believe that such leased areas as Shanghai should be turned over to the Chinese and that extra-territoriality should be abolished. You point to the large amount of fixed capital investment escaping foreign taxation which you say properly belongs to the Government. You also point to the fact that within these leased areas resides a large Chinese population who have no say in the Government.

"Why are these Chinese in this area? Simply to escape the rapaciousness of their countrymen. When these Chinese, as a protest to the foreign control of these leased areas, move out of these leased areas and put themselves at the mercy of the military, then I shall believe them to be sincere."

Dr. P. W. Kuo:

" . . . It is said that the settlements have been places of refuge for many of our people. That is true. That may be regarded as an argument for the existence of treaty ports and concessions. But another way of looking at the matter constitutes one of the strongest arguments the Chinese people have to offer for the removal of these treaty ports and concessions. Many of the so-called civil strifes and disturbances in China are due to the fact that there are such ports, such concessions in China into which political refugees and trouble-makers can go. If there were no such concessions or treaty ports, there would be fewer troublemakers, and the war agi-

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tators would be greatly reduced if not entirely eliminated. If there were no treaty ports, where would they go? They would have to go abroad, and that is more difficult and more expensive."

Stanley High:

"It does not seem to me that it is any of our business what sort of a government there is in China. I believe it is entirely beside the point to raise the question as to whether or not there is chaos or order in China. Our business as Americans is to lay down some principle according to which we can deal with China in justice, and then to raise the question whether or not that principle involves that all of us shall pull all of our interests out of China or whether China will set its house in order, in order that those interests may be held and continued in China."

—From the discussion at the
Baltimore Conference.

V
NATIONAL SPIRIT
A

An Exposition of Chinese Spirit

“ . . . It is the ‘activities’ rather than the teachings and spiritual experiences of Christianity which have arrested the attention of the Chinese people and have won their respect. To the popular mind, Christianity is synonymous with Christian schools, hospitals, asylums, preaching, church, worship, evangelistic campaigns, relief parties, etc. The more thoughtful people, however, know that there must be something in the Christian religion which compels men and women, often at great sacrifices, to devote their life-blood to these ‘activities.’ . . .

“In China, we have not, as countries in the West, depended so much upon law, governmental machinery, and political organization, although we have them all. Nor have we laid very great stress upon special political training or statecraft on the part of officials. The real foundation of our government may be summed up in this familiar quotation from the Great Learning: ‘Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts.’ . . .

“ . . . The ideals of life and life’s relations enunciated and lived by our forefathers remain unsurpassed even according to present standards of both East and West. We are not a people merely with a glorious past but one in whom that glorious past is still surging and throbbing and seeking for avenues of expression. No force can check its activities; it is bound to issue forth in a greater present and future. We

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are struggling not to save our country as the ordinary expression goes—for who can destroy our nation with such a national spirit as we have?—but for the benefit of ourselves and the world to strengthen and improve by taking advantage of what the modern civilization has to offer.”

— DAVID Z. T. YUI, from *The World Tomorrow*, January 1926.

B

The Student Movement

The following digest of an article by T. Z. Koo, a secretary of the W.S.C.F. and of the Student Y.M.C.A. of China, appeared in *Vox Studentium*, July, 1925. Attempt has been made faithfully to maintain the thread of his history of the *Chinese Renaissance*. Limited space prohibits a full printing of the article.

“The student class of China, from time immemorial had been the rulers of the nation. Before contact with the western nations, this class was very well satisfied with itself and considered itself the flower of the nation and China the center of the civilised world. But they were rudely awakened from this sense of superiority when China went down in defeat before the armies of Great Britain and France. Thereafter began a process of adjustment on the part of the student class and of adaptation to new conditions. This process has three stages:

1. When China sought to equip herself with the material implements of the west.
2. When everything was done to give our leaders, the training which would enable them to meet the west on equal ground.
3. When a movement was started to change the thought life of the people,—the New Culture movement, or the Chinese Renaissance.

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Principles of the Movement:

1. The scientific attitude of mind.
Study and revelation of Chinese culture.
Encouragement of study of cultures of other peoples.
2. Impartial elimination of all that impedes growth, regardless of ancient customs.
3. Fearless experimentation.

"With these three simple principles, the Renaissance Movement has worked its influence into the educated classes of China. They have succeeded in giving to our young men a new spirit and attitude toward life.

"The Renaissance is organized in a very simple way. In every college, a group of students generally led by one or two keener minds, constitute themselves a voluntary group to write articles, edit magazines and make speeches aimed at the propagation of the New Culture Movement. . . . The old classic style of composing Chinese does not lend itself readily to rapid propagation among the masses. This Movement therefore has had to face the question of finding a medium of communication which will reach not only the scholar class but the average man who can read and write. To do this the leaders were obliged to abolish the classic style of composing Chinese and adopt what is known now as the vernacular style in which the spoken and written style is made the same."

Influence of the Movement:

In the Field of Thought

In the Political Sphere:

- Strong denunciation of militarism and capitalism
- Development of provincial self-government urged, leading to a federal central government and a united states of China
- Exaltation of labor class
- Preaching of socialism; more recently bolshevism

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In the Educational Sphere:

Compulsory education for children

Adult education

Establishment of schools for technical training and higher learning

Emphasis on national education as vs. that which tends to have a denationalising influence, "the particular reference being to Christian education"

In the Social Sphere:

Breaking down of the class system in society

Abolition of large family system and replacement by small family system

Emancipation of women

Larger social intercourse between men and women

In the Economic Sphere:

Promotion of native industries to develop natural resources

In the Religious Sphere:

"Some are preaching a material conception of life largely due to western influence.

"Others are interested in the Five Religions movement . . . to combine Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity.

"One section is frankly anti-religious. Started in 1922 as demonstration against World Student Christian Federation in Peking soon broadened to include all religions, yet for its main attacks it singles out Christianity as the most active religion in China.

"Others attempt to revive the power of the old religions of China,—noticeable in Confucian and Buddhist religions.

"An ever-growing number have been coming under the influence of Christianity in the last few years."

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In the Field of Action:

"The Renaissance Movement is responsible for giving to our students a new consciousness as a group. This consciousness found expression in 1918 in what was called the Student Revolt. This was a revolt against the Government. When the Peace Conference was called after the Great War, certain ministers in our Government were suspected of friendliness toward Japan. So the students demanded that these pro-Japanese ministers in our Government should be replaced by men who would stand for the rights of China in Paris. This demand was sent to the Government in the form of an ultimatum with 48 hours' limit for the President to dismiss the suspected ministers. Naturally, the Government disregarded such an ultimatum. The students thereupon called a national strike of all trades, industries, etc., to demonstrate against the Government and the situation became so serious that the Government finally yielded.

"The victory was followed by the organization of student unions all over the country in our schools and colleges. A national union was also organised to link up the local units. Unfortunately, these unions began to misuse their power in boycotting unpopular professors and disturbing school discipline. And so for nearly two years, the unions steadily declined in influence and in the respect of the people. Now, however, the tide has turned in another direction. They are beginning to see the error of their ways and so they are giving more attention to the social service of helping other people. The main keynote of this social service programme is the expression of the students' sense of brotherhood with the other classes in society, especially with the lower classes. They express this sense through such practical works of service as free schools for the poor and illiterate, denying themselves pleasures and lux-

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uries so that the money saved may be given to help famine sufferers, etc.

"Some of the leaders of the Movement are coming to feel the inadequacy of an intellectual movement really to change the life of the people. A very significant statement was made by one of the leaders who had been most virulent in his attacks upon Christianity. He said perhaps they ought to adopt the virtues of universal love and unselfish sacrifice exhibited by Jesus if they really wanted to move men's hearts."

C

A Warning

"In China at this moment a strong national feeling is developing. But I think it is altogether wrong to refer to this feeling as nationalism. . . . Are we Americans going to encourage the development in young China of national spirit or of that nationalism which has laid Europe in ruins and which will do the same thing in China if not checked? At China's door is a country now steeped in nationalism. That country is Russia. Nationalism is that narrow, self-centered, pseudo-patriotic idea which inflames international suspicions and hatreds, and that is what Europe has been doing in China for 80 years. I think the great opportunity which is open to America in China today is to turn this national spirit into healthy channels. . . ."

—PATRICK J. WARD, at Baltimore Conference.

D

The Right American Policy Toward China

"The fundamental cause of the present crisis in China is the rapid growth of patriotism among the Chinese. The relation between Chinese and foreigners in China and the position of China in the family of nations, which were formerly accepted and widely regarded as acceptable, have become intolerable to patriotic Chinese. There can be no permanent peace with foreign Powers until the full and

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independent sovereignty of China is recognized by due international agreement, and made actual in China's foreign relations.

"The right American policy toward China, for the adoption of which all Christian people should work, would seem to be somewhat as follows:

"1. Clear recognition of the dignity of the Chinese people, and whole-hearted sympathy with their patriotic aspirations to become a strong and free people.

"2. Constant recognition that dependence upon our army and navy to protect the rights of our nationals in China is seldom useful, and often highly detrimental, both to ourselves and to China.

"3. Thorough study of the general conditions throughout the Far East, and a clear recognition of our opportunity and responsibility as Americans to take the lead in proposing and carrying out a thorough-going readjustment of the relations between China and foreign powers.

"4. The necessity for a program providing for progressive changes within China, as the conditions of progressive alterations of the relationships between China and other Powers.

"5. Immediate action. Delay has hitherto been a diplomatic method almost as exasperating and harmful as dependence upon force rather than upon fair dealing. We must not wait unduly for other nations to act. China manifestly expects us to lead in the reconstruction of her foreign relations. If we do not accept this responsibility we lose one of the greatest opportunities which has ever been presented to our nation."

—RT. REV. LOGAN H. ROOTS,
D.D., Honorary Secretary,
National Christian Council
of China, Federal Council
Bulletin, September-October
1925.

VI SOME UNDERLYING DIFFICULTIES

A

Facing World Friction Points

"Spiritual life is vitally affected by the lack or presence of harmonious human relationships. Our Lord asked us to consider whether our brother hath aught against us. Gifts were to be left at the altar until reconciliation had been brought about. We have understood this as applicable between individuals; but does not its wisdom hold for nations as well? In the light of Christ's teaching can we be complacent when one group of nations, mainly of the white race, have in past years acquired certain endowments, privileges and territories which they are eager to retain; while another group, less materially advanced but with newly awakened national and race consciousness, are becoming restless with their relatively inferior situation, and increasingly resent the retention of certain advantages wrested from them? Undoubtedly our low spiritual levels are in part due to the fact that we have presumed to go on with our worship without first being reconciled in great corporate ways to our brothers. Let us face four areas in which reconciliation is needed.

"One friction point has to do with standards of living. In one group of nations it is a question of what kind of a car to buy; in another group whether it will be one or two bowls of rice per day. We are told that in Detroit 33 per cent of a man's wage goes for food; in China 87 per cent. In one group the masses have what might be called an adequate provision for primary wants such as food, clothing, and shelter, besides a sufficient margin of wealth to provide for child welfare, education and leisure; in another, the masses struggle for bare existence. With inter-communication set up, pressure toward equalization is inevitable.

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"There are labor leaders in the United States who have said that while they do not want their levels lowered, they do sincerely want eastern levels raised. But, apart from a few labor organizers sent abroad and the industrial work of foreign missions, the general economic impression made on the Far East is the result of capitalistic industry and government loans. The conviction grows that the high-level groups are mainly bent on making their levels higher. Overlach, concluding his book on foreign financial control in China, says that 'the foreigners were eager to build railroads, not because they thought the Chinese needed the railroads but because the foreigners needed the profit of the railroads.' This then is the point of supreme significance, namely, that the bottom idea of all the treaty stipulations and arrangements as to intercourse, customs, extra-territoriality, spheres of interest, railway concessions and control was not the welfare of the people of China, but the profit and the ease of doing business by the people of the West. With the exception of a few missionaries and a few scholars, writers and artists who admire Chinese civilization, the interest of the world was a money interest pure and simple.

* * * * *

"In particular, Young China regards the possession of the privilege of extra-territoriality by foreigners as not only a national humiliation, but as a means of unjustly maintaining a high economic level of the Treaty Powers. With the diversity of law and multiplicity of courts necessitated by this system, unscrupulous foreigners frequently evade justice and put the Chinese at an economic disadvantage.

"China has been pointing to another situation that she believes keeps her levels down in order that the higher levels of the West may remain high, namely, the foreign control of her tariff on a 5 per cent basis on all goods. China's young leaders know that this undifferentiated tariff is unscientific in that it draws no distinction between raw materials and manufactured goods, nor between necessities and luxuries. . . . Since individual missionaries unquestionably had a part in framing the unequal treaties, what part should mis-

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sions play now in their revision? We are told that abstract morality will get nowhere; for, even granting that China ought to have tariff autonomy, to give it immediately would wipe out some businesses and would give unexpected advantages to others. Has Christianity anything practical to say on this?

* * * * *

"A second centre of friction has to do with population. Ties which bound people to the soil have become loosened. Motives and devices of transportation and communication have been developed, so that persons and peoples have been mobilized. The resulting difference of pressure between saturated populations, on the one hand, and peoples still uncrowded, on the other, constitutes one of the most disturbing elements of our time. . . .

* * * * *

"Population pressure is closely connected with standards-of-living pressure. The cause of migration is pre-eminently economic. Peoples with a lower economic standard of living migrate to a country where higher standards prevail. . . .

"Now that the world's population is getting the motive and means for becoming mobile certain great questions have to be faced. Have human beings on this planet the inherent right to migrate from one country to another, just as they now have the right to move from place to place within any given country? On the other hand, has a nation the inherent right to set up a valve in the connecting line, and thus determine the character and quantity of the inflow? . . .

* * * * *

"A third kind of maladjustment has to do with cultures. Across the Atlantic the cultural flow has largely been in one direction; about the Pacific cultural expansion comes from every side. . . .

* * * * *

"The distances which have separated peoples have not only been physical but moral and social. And these are the distances that tend to remain longest. Yet a levelling up is in process here. The rapid increase in literacy, the ability to

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interpret photographs of other lands, the penetration to human motives and passions through literature, travel to strange worlds, the cinema, the radio—all are helping us to know the inner and personal life of individuals and peoples. Culture plays on culture. The goal is one moral universe.

* * * * *

“Even this limited survey indicates how complex these interlacing problems are. In the face of these situations, it is not sufficient merely to affirm one’s faith in general principles of love and brotherhood. No easy passing of resolutions or affirmation of principles will suffice. These disturbing pressures and centres of friction are facts and must be dealt with. Just because we are idealists we must take into consideration hard facts and the inertia of human nature, realize that each situation has had a life history and cannot be broken off without reference to this, and see how complex and difficult is the detailed practical working out of human brotherhood in treaties, laws and actual practice. Constructive thought must be put into reconciliation. The same missionary zeal which has attempted such great things for God in the past is needed to make Jesus’ spirit operative in great areas of international life. When we have first done this we can go back and offer an acceptable gift at the altar.”

—D. J. FLEMING, Ph.D., in
International Review of Mis-
sions, January, 1926.

B

Race Contacts in the World Today

“A glance at the world situation, a perusal of a week’s journalism, reveals conflict at almost every point where the races come together in organized contacts. While the aspirations of men of good will and the thoughts of men of science tend to mingle, yet in the practical affairs of government and economics, where the multitudes are brought together, it is antagonism and not unity that grows between the races. One of the major facts of the present hour is

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that national strifes and hatreds are being superseded by the same attitudes between races. The present impending menace to the peaceful, spiritual development of mankind is not so much the old friction of conflicting nationalisms in Europe as it is new antagonisms between the races in various continents. . . . Wherever one race is trying to rule another, there is the smouldering of resentment, the flames of rebellion, the stern measures of repression that threaten a wider conflagration. . . . Within its own borders the white race counts as one of its greatest discoveries in the field of politics the principle that government must rest upon the consent of the governed if it is to endure. The time has come for the recognition and extension of this principle in the relation between the races."

—HARRY F. WARD, in *The World Tomorrow*, November, 1925.

C

Force in Chinese Philosophy

"The extent to which a nation is being militarized can be ascertained not merely from a study of the ideas that move her now but by an examination of the ideas and ideals that have affected her most in the course of a long history. One of these ancient governing ideas, in Chinese life is expressed by the word 'li' which may be variously rendered by the English words: dignity, decorum, tact, and consideration for the feelings of others. 'Li' represents the spirit of Chinese civilization in some such way as the word 'bushido' represents the spirit of Japan, though the two are by no means synonymous. It implies respect for personality, moderation, and self-restraint refraining from pushing even the best issue to an ultimate, brutal conclusion if by so doing the rights of personality must be trampled upon. A Chinese maxim says, 'Let your conduct be square within and round without'; that is to say, cultivate an inner life of rectitude and an outer life free from the angularities that mar human intercourse."

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"The Chinese have for millenniums advocated a theory which Westerners have never regarded seriously, but which is thoroughly in accord with the findings of modern psychology: that outward bearing has a reflex influence on the inner life. The too prevalent Western idea that if one's heart is right, one's manners will take care of themselves is one which I believe most Chinese would find difficult to accept. To their minds a slovenly bearing necessarily connotes a disjointed and slovenly life within. In the famous letter which the well-known Chinese official, Lin Tse-Slū, wrote to Queen Victoria in 1839, he says, 'Ever since the present dynasty was established its aim has been to regulate manners and customs with the view of rectifying the heart of man.' To the man of the West this emphasis on correct behavior verges entirely too near the hypocritical and the unreal. He does not realize, however, that Western brusqueness is quite as offensive to an Easterner as Eastern obliqueness is to a man of the West. That is what the Chinese school-girl meant when she said to the missionary, 'You have the Christian virtues, but we have the Christian graces'; implying, of course, that one is not truly Christian until he has both the virtues and the graces."

* * * * *

"The Chinese have always recognized two kinds of restraints in government: the restraints of 'li' and the restraints of law, but there has never been any doubt in their minds as to which is superior. The end and aim of the Confucian system was to train a people to be thoroughly self-governing; not in a political but in a moral and social sense; that is to say, a people governed by 'li' rather than by law; a people whose restraints are inner and not outer, moral and not legal. That is why the legal profession has hitherto had so little place in China, and why resort to litigation is still regarded as unnecessary and therefore humiliating. For what does the law care for personality, for extenuating circumstances, for the give and take that the Chinese regard as important to smooth social intercourse?

"Until the introduction of modern political ideas the Con-

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fucian idea of 'li' was expected to work as well in the conduct of government as in the organization of the family and the behavior of the individual; the state being regarded merely as an extension of the family, the same principle operating in both. However poorly the ideal of government by 'li' may have worked out in practice the Chinese philosophers never gave up the theory that ideal government is that which appeals, not to law nor to force, but to individual self-respect and to mutual accommodation. 'No other people,' says Mr. Wells, 'have ever approached moral order and social stability through the channel of manners, No other nation has such a tradition of decorum and self-respect.'

"It does not require elaborate argument to show that present tendencies in China are mostly in the direction of making the country 'strong' in the sense that the nations of Europe regard themselves as strong. In that sense China has always been weak. Her philosophers had taught her that nations become strong, not by killing off their enemies, but by bearing with them, coming to terms with them, and finally civilizing them. They believed in the convertibility of man; in the essential goodness of human nature. But their contacts with the West have not tended to confirm the people in the truth of these ancient theories; some are indeed beginning to wonder whether the philosophers were not mistaken after all. It may prove to be true that man is totally depraved and that the Kingdom of Heaven can be ushered in only by violence. At any rate their dilemma is very clear; if a nation is weak, she is despised; if she is strong, she is feared. . . ."

* * * * *

"Before a people become militarized they first become nationalized. That step China has already taken, though that step too is not very congenial to the Chinese nature; for loyalty to the government or to the nation as such is not the force that has hitherto kept China intact, nor the thing in which her people have taken most pride. Rather it was loyalty to a great and immemorial culture, which is after all a bigger and more tolerant loyalty than a purely national allegiance can ever be.

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"Naturally the older Chinese look upon this reversal of ancient standards as a distinctly backward step, but the present student generation hails it as the only hope of emancipating the country from alien domination. Not that they relish the newer ways any more than their elders; but they are content, for a time at least, to play the game of their opponents if that is the only way to put them to rout; which confirms again the principle that Mr. Shaw enunciated during the World War, that belligerents tend to take on each other's characteristics.

"There is pathos in the spectacle of a great nation that has preached for centuries the doctrine of humane, non-violent, and reasonable human intercourse, being compelled in the twentieth century by so-called Christian nations, to order her life on principles which she knows to be inferior, but which she is powerless to change. 'The oldest, the most populous, and what Dean Inge calls 'the best-balanced civilization in the world' is not permitted respite until she has patterned her life after the manner of the petulant, the machine-driven, and the pugnacious peoples of the West. Yet these very peoples need to strive for nothing so much as the kind of civilization at which Chinese thinkers have aimed,—a civilization that 'broadens men by culture and restrains men by reverence.' Perhaps if China continues to hold out for the best in her ancient ideals, and, in the words of the great Mencius, 'refuses to bend to the menace of power and force,' she may yet unite with the liberal forces working toward similar ends in the West, and thus not only save her own soul, but help to lift the thought of the West from sordid political and military considerations to humane and cultural ends."

—ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, in
The World Tomorrow, Jan-
uary, 1926.

D

Foreign Financial Assistance

"Before 1894, China had practically no foreign debt. Such foreign financial assistance as the Imperial Government had

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desired from time to time had been furnished by a foreign bank (British) with its headquarters in the Far East, in the form of short-term loans which were paid off as they became due. For the waging of the Chinese-Japanese War, however, in 1894-95, and the payment of the indemnity of 238,000,000 taels exacted by Japan, China was forced to enter the foreign financial market for assistance. With the conclusion of that war in 1895, there was ushered in a new era in the Far East, an era characterized as one 'of rapid encroachment on China by powerful Western nations and by Japan.' France, Russia, Great Britain and Germany rushed to China's 'aid' and by March, 1896, these four powers had loaned China Fr. 400,000,000 and £16,000,00, respectively. Belgium, the United States and Japan soon followed with proffers of foreign capital to be used by China in railway and industrial development."

—FREDERIC E. LEE, PH.D.,
in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1925.

VII

CHINESE IN AMERICA

A

Race Loyalty

"The other day I questioned a young Chinese who is an ex-pupil of mine as to his conduct in case war broke out between China and the United States. His answer was unhesitating. 'I should go back to fight for China.' 'But,' I asked, 'are you not an American born citizen?' 'Yes,' he replied, much embarrassed, 'but I should just have to go to fight for China. I wouldn't have any choice.' Though not all might be frank enough to avow it, this is the common attitude of the young men of Chinatown.

"We have no right to condemn a non-loyal attitude on their part. They have accepted perforce the social position which we have thrust upon them but it must not be supposed that it has bred in them any sense of inferiority. The Chinese is intensely proud of his blood and traditions, supremely aware that his civilization, despised by us, has stood the test of centuries while ours is still in the making. Stung by our contempt, it is natural that he does not consider himself one of us but turns toward his native land. If we are willing that, living among us, the Chinese shall remain alien in spirit; if we are so little their brothers in democracy that we relegate them permanently to an inferior social order; then we cannot in justice resent their lack of fellowship."

—NORA STERRY in *Journal of Applied Sociology*, July-August, 1923.

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B

Occupations of Chinese in America

According to the 1920 Census

Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry		5,049
Manufacturing and mechanical industries		4,256
Trade:		
Retail dealers	4,313	
Salesmen and Saleswomen	1,658	
All others	1,506	
	<hr/>	7,477
Public service		186
Professional service		462
Domestic and personal service:		
Laundry operators	11,577	
Laundry owners	982	
Restaurant keepers	1,685	
Servants	8,417	
Waiters	2,810	
All others	979	
	<hr/>	26,450
Clerical occupations		794*
In addition there are in the schools, colleges and universities:		
Male	4,045	
Female	2,036	
	<hr/>	6,081
Grand total		<hr/> 50,755

These figures are quoted in *The Real Chinese in America*, by J. S. Tow, Secretary of the Chinese Consulate General, New York. Published 1923, by the Academy Press, New York.

C

Difficulties with the Police

"On September 22, 1925, Yee Chock, an obscure member of the Chinese community of Cleveland, was found slain in a Chinatown tenement, his head nearly separated from his body. The cry went up: 'Chinese tong murder,' and the police department under the orders of the Director of Public Safety, Edwin D. Barry, rolled up its sleeves and waded in. Practically the entire available police force was put to work 'cleaning up' Chinatown. . . . The Chinese population of the city was dragged to the police stations. Pedestrians were taken up on the sidewalks, even students at Cleveland institutions of learning were swept up in what the headline writers like to call the 'drag-net.' Six hundred and twelve Chinese, old men and children, merchants and laundrymen, laborers and students, arrested and thrown into jail without warrant or other legal process. More than 100 Chinese business business places peremptorily closed by police action; scores of Chinese shops and dwelling places broken into by these same police. . . . Two judges before whom habeas corpus proceedings were brought denounced the police action as high-handed and ordered the release of the prisoners. Police prosecutors frankly admitted that there was no legal ground upon which the great bulk of the prisoners could be held. The Rev. Wm. Hiram Foulkes in an open letter to the City Manager, Wm. R. Hopkins, expressed his indignation at the wholesale flouting of the constitutional rights of a considerable group of Cleveland's citizens. Protests to the Chinese Legation and a request to the Department of State for an investigation and report have taken the quarrel outside of Cleveland. China had no marines to land, but possibly the Cleveland incident may prove one more obstacle to the cause of peace in the Far East and better understanding between the white man and the yellow"

—*The Nation*, October 14, 1925.

VIII CHINESE PUBLIC OPINION

A

Crowd Demonstrations

"For a week in advance we had known of the plan for this demonstration (against the 'Shanghai Outrage')* and had wondered just what form it would take. Everywhere in evidence on the walls and telegraph poles were pictures depicting the Shanghai affair. Turbanned Sikhs with guns in their hands were portrayed as standing over the prostrate forms of massacred students. The latter half of the instructions to the Shanghai Municipal Police were printed on many of the signs: 'Shoot to Kill.' (The whole order had instructed the police never to shoot at all unless in the very last extremity and then 'shoot to kill.')

" . . . Water carriers, artisans, merchants and students carrying signs and shouting in rhythmic responses, filed by. 'Boycott British and Japanese Goods'; 'Do away with Extra-territoriality'; 'We favor the retrocession of Foreign Concessions'; 'Down with Imperialism'; 'Down with British Aggression'; 'We are not Bolshevik; We are not Anti-Christian; We are not Anti-Foreign; We are for Humanity.' These signs and others of similar nature were in evidence. One huge painting of Justice as a white-robed woman mourning over the slaughtered students was carried."

— JOHN STEWART BURGESS,
Princeton-in-Peking, Dept.
of Sociology, Yenching Un-
iversity, "Christians at the
Crossroads," *Survey Graph-
ic*, October 1925.

*See Discussion II, Chronology under May 30, page 20.

B

Education and Public Opinion.

"The introduction of a popular written language has probably tripled the reading public in China since the close of the World War. At the present rate of progress it is possible that, within a generation, the degree of literacy in China will be as high as in many nations of the West.

C

The Spread and Power of Public Opinion

"It is not easy for a foreigner—very likely dismissing China as a disorganized nation of illiterates—to realize the power of Chinese public opinion. But modern progress in China, although in many respects slow, has nevertheless provided the material basis for a genuine national consciousness. The tragedy of May 30, when six Chinese were killed by foreign police in the International Settlement in Shanghai, was telegraphed into the most remote sections of the country. Within a few hours, in Chengtu, the capital of Szechuan Province, two thousand miles in the interior and hundreds of miles from the nearest railroad, extra editions of Chinese newspapers were in print and students gathered to consider action on behalf of their fellows in the Shanghai jails. In the far north, at the city of Kalgan on the edge of the Gobi Desert, where the 'Christian General,' Feng Yu-Hsiang, maintains headquarters, telegraphic accounts of the outbreak were received. General Feng immediately ordered every soldier in his army to put on a mourning band in commemoration of the Chinese who had lost their lives. In my own city of Nanking—formerly removed by a week's travel from Shanghai—the students within a day had begun their campaign. They continued it persistently, posting placards, holding impromptu mass meetings at every street corner and collecting funds. It is safe to say that within a week no resident of that city, however indifferent or illiterate, was unaware of what had taken place and of the issues involved.

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"Thus, despite the fact that China has less than eight thousand miles of railroad, telegraphic communication has brought the ends of the country together to share situations. Out of that sharing is created public opinion. But the force of public opinion is accounted for only in part by the fact that the country is mechanically drawn together. Progress of a different sort, during the past six years, has brought millions of Chinese—formerly unconcerned in national affairs—within reach of these wider interests.

D

Lessons from the Past

"The Chinese will endure hardship and even oppression for a long period, but once they are aroused, they are a force to be reckoned with. Their program of adjustment is usually one of 'direct action.' Governmental authorities have been so remote from the life of the average community that the people themselves have taken their own steps, by boycotts or strikes or public demonstrations, to oust the offending officials or bring about whatever changes are desired. The present exhibition of Chinese public opinion and its effective organization is not, therefore, a new phenomenon.

E

As Seen from the United States

"When I had scarcely landed in the United States, I was met by an inquiring reporter who wished to know, 'Just who is back of all this trouble in China?' Frequently, since then, the same question has been put to me, and usually the questioner supplies his own pet answer. The 'adolescent school-boys,' he believes, or the 'tuchuns,' or the 'returned students' are back of all this trouble in China. The most influential foreign newspaper in China, through a cartoon published immediately after the Shanghai shootings of May 30, gave what appears to be a widely accepted explanation—namely, that it is the 'Reds'. The students, 'Young China,' in this caricature are pictured drunk with 'Bolshevist propaganda' and are said

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to be 'swollen with wind and the rank mist they draw' and to 'rot inwardly and foul contagion spread.'

"To this contention that the movement going on in China is no more than reckless uprising of irresponsible individuals, there is frequently added a lengthy indictment of the government of the country. The case against China is then complete. This indictment, in fact, goes behind the government itself to sweeping generalizations against the people of China—against their truth and their honesty. It is simple to conclude, as I heard one American speaker conclude, that China's demands for sovereignty within its own borders must be treated 'as I would treat the demands of my fourteen-year-old son that he be accorded the privileges of manhood.'"

— P. W. KUO, "A Chinese Statement of the Chinese Case," *Asia*, December 1925.

F

China Becoming Articulate

"The fact of importance in the total situation in China is not the Shanghai incident but the revelation that for the first time in recent Chinese history an act of this nature will create nation-wide and united indignation. China is becoming articulate.

"The great danger in the present situation is not the surging of new life in this nation, but the very great probability that certain foreign nations will fail to recognize this new state of mind in old China."

— P. W. KUO, "A Chinese Statement of the Chinese Case," *Asia*, December 1925.

G

"There was a time when the missionary and his message were their own main apologetic. World communications were so ill-developed when Protestant missions began that the missionary stood before his hearers almost detached from his civilization.

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"But in a startlingly rapid way that whole background has been filled in by commercial dealings and national aggression, by travelers and wireless, by movies and the press, and by the whole disintegrating and corrupting influence of western civilization. From the standpoint of apologetics, the significant thing today is that the missionary is almost lost against this background. Today other voices than that of the missionary inevitably interpret what the general movement known as Christianity means in practice. For example, intelligent Orientals now know that the business men who go to their lands in large numbers represent the mass of the so-called Christian peoples much more truly than do the missionaries."

—DANIEL J. FLEMING, in
Whither Bound in Missions.

H

"Christian internationalists are deeply concerned with the relationship of the China which has 'turned the corner' to Christianity. The awakening of the spiritual forces of the great Chinese people has been the aim of missionary work for more than a century. No one concerned with the future of the Christian religion in China can view without a sense of profound gratitude the high idealism of the students and the birth of intelligent, purposeful, public opinion. From many sources comes the good word that Chinese leaders in Christian colleges have successfully restrained the students in government and other institutions from excesses and have channeled into constructive activity the profound, aroused spirit of the student classes.

"A new sense of human values motivates the China of today. Who is so blind as not to see that Christ's teaching about the infinite worth of human personality, about the glory of unselfish service, about the inalienable right of every man and every nation to justice and freedom, are the very fountain from which this new life of China is springing?

"Is it not clear that the only safeguard for this powerful new nationalism lies in its being permeated with the high principles of Jesus Christ? In no other way can China be

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saved from menacing chaos. 'Missions no longer needed in China?' There is a greater challenge than ever before to give of our best in life and treasure in coöperation with China in these days of tremendous significance. These are better times than the old days of stagnation or of haughty indifference. Things are moving. *Will Christian Missions guide them?*"

—MRS. CHARLES K. ROYS, formerly missionary in China, now Foreign Executive Secretary of the Women's Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, in *China Turns the Corner*.

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